THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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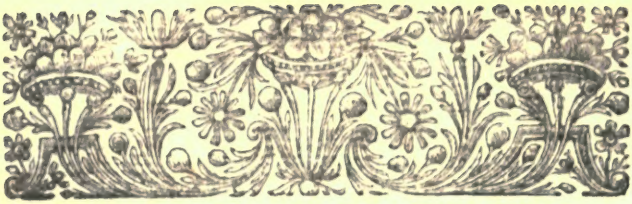

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIATIONS

Of Protestant Churches.

BOOK X.

From the Year 1558, *to* 1570.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Queen Elizabeth's *Reformation. That of* Edward *corrected, and the* Real Presence, *which had been condemn'd under that Prince, held for indifferent: The Church of* England *still persists in this sentiment. Other Variations of this Church in that* Queen's *reign. Her ecclesiastical Supremacy moderated in appearance, in reality left in the same state as under* Henry *and* Edward, *notwithstanding the scruples of* Elizabeth. *Policy bears the sway throughout this whole Reformation. The Faith, the Sacraments, and the whole ecclesiastical authority deliver'd up into the hands of Kings and Parliaments. The same done in* Scotland. *The* Calvinists *of*

France *disapprove this doctrine, nevertheless let it pass.* England's *doctrine upon Justification. Queen* Elizabeth *favours the* French *Protestants. They rebel as soon as they have it in their power. The conspiracy of* Amboise *in* Francis *the second's reign. The civil wars under* Charles IX. *This conspiracy and these wars appertain to Religion, and were entered into by the authority of the Doctors and Ministers of the Party, and grounded on the new doctrine teaching the lawfulness of making war against their Prince for* Religion's *sake. This doctrine expressly warranted by their national Synods. The fallacy of Protestant writers, and of Mr.* Burnet *amongst the rest, who pretend that the tumult of* Amboise *and the civil wars were state-businesses. Religion was at the bottom of* Francis *Duke of* Guise's *murder.* Beza's *and the* Admiral's *testimony. A new* Confession *of Faith in* Switzerland.

I. Queen *Elizabeth* is persuaded, nothing can secure to her the Crown, but the Protestant Religion. Four reasons she was [illegible] to do it. [illegible]

ENGLAND having soon return'd, after Queen *Mary*'s death, to *Edward* the sixth's Reformation, set about fixing her Faith and putting the finishing stroke to her Religion by the new *Queen*'s authority. *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Henry* VIII. and *Anne Boleyn*, was advanced to the throne, and govern'd her kingdom with as profound a policy as the most able Kings. The step she had taken with regard to *Rome*, immediately upon her coming to the Crown, countenanced what otherways had been publish'd of this Princess, that she would not have departed from the *Catholick* Religion, had she found the Pope more inclinable

nable to her interests. But *Paul* IV. who then sate in the *Apostolick* Chair gave no favourable reception to the civilities she had caused to be tender'd him as to another Prince, without further declaration of her mind, by the Resident of the late *Queen* her Sister. Mr. *Burnet* tells us, he treated her as illegitimate; was surprised at her great boldness in assuming the Crown, a fief of the *Holy See*, without his consent; and gave her no hopes of receiving any favour at his hands, unless she renounced her pretensions, and submitted to the See of *Rome*. Such usage, if true, was not at all likely to reclaim a *Queen*. After such a repulse, *Elizabeth* readily withdrew from a See, by whose decrees her birth had also been condemn'd, and took to the new *Reformation*: yet, she did not approve that of *Edward* in all its parts. There were four points she had some scruples in, that of *Ceremonies*, that of *Images*, that of the *Real* Presence, and that of the Regal *Supremacy*: and what was done, in her time, with reference to these four points, we are now to relate.

Burn. l. III. p. 374.

Burn. Ibid. p. 376.

II. I. point Ceremonies. *L. III. 3-6.*

As for ceremonies, *Her first impressions*, says *Mr.* Burnet, *were in favour of such old rites as her Father had still retain'd, and in her own nature loving state and some magnificence in Religion, she thought her Brother's ministers had stript it too much of external ornaments*, and left Religion too bare and naked. Yet I don't find, she did any thing considerable in that regard.

III. II. Point Images. Pious sentiments of the Queen. *L. III. p. 377.*

As for Images, *That matter stuck long with her; for she inclin'd to keep up Images in Churches, and it was with great difficulty* she was prevail'd upon, persuaded as she was, that *the use of Images in Churches, might be a means to stir up devotion, and that at least it would draw all people to frequent them the more.* Herein her sentiments

agree'd in the main with thoſe of the *Catholicks*. If *they ſtir up devotion* towards God, they might well excite alſo the external tokens of it; this is the whole of that worſhip which we pay them: to be *inclin'd to*, and *have favourable impreſſions of them* in this ſenſe, like Queen *Elizabeth*, was not ſo groſs a notion as is at preſent imputed to our belief; and I much queſtion, whether Mr. *Burnet* would venture to charge a *Queen* who, according to him, was the Foundreſs of Religion in *England*, with entertaining idolatrous ſentiments. But the *Iconoclaſt* party had gain'd their point: the *Queen*, unable to reſiſt 'em, was wrought up by them to ſuch extreams, that not content with commanding *Images* to be caſt out of all Churches, *She forbid all her ſubjects to keep them in their houſes*; nothing but the *Crucifix* eſcaped, and that no where but in the Royal Chapel, whence the *Queen* could not be perſuaded to remove it.

[illegible]

IV. It may not be improper to conſider what the *Proteſtants* alledged in order to juſtify [illegible] to their proceedings againſt *Images*, to the end the exceſs or vanity of the deſign may be diſcover'd. The chief [illegible]

[illegible]

ſtians, as only to find place in the groſs ſuperſtition of *Mahometans* and *Jews*.

V. Manifeſt Variation with reſpect to the *Real* Preſence. *Policy* regulates *Religion*.

The *Queen* ſhew'd more reſolution in point of the *Euchariſt*. 'Tis of main importance well to comprehend her ſentiments, ſuch as Mr. *Burnet* delivers them: *She thought that in her Brother's reign they made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome points; therefore ſhe intended to have ſome things explain'd in more general terms, that ſo all parties might be comprehended by them.* Theſe were her ſentiments in general. In applying them to the Euchariſt; *Her intention was to have the manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, be left in ſome* GENERAL *words. She very much diſliked that thoſe who believed the corporal Preſence had been driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it.* And again: *It was propoſed to have the Communion book ſo contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal Preſence: for the chief deſign of the* Queen's *Council was, to unite the nation in one Faith.*

Ibid. 376.

Ibid. 392

One might be apt to think, perchance, that the *Queen* judged it needleſs to make any expreſs declarations againſt the *Real* Preſence, her ſubjects of themſelves being ſufficiently inclined to reject it: but on the contrary, *the greateſt part of the nation continued to believe ſuch a Preſence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to ſee that there ſhould be no expreſs definition made againſt it; that ſo it might lie as a ſpeculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind.*

Ibid.

VI. The Faith of the pretended Martyrs chang'd.

Here was a ſtrange Variation in one of the main fundamental points of the *Engliſh* Reformation. In the *Confeſſion* of Faith ſet forth in 1551, under *Edward*, the Doctrine of the *Real* Preſence was excluded in ſo ſtrong a manner, that it was declared impoſſible and contrary to

our *Lord's Supper*. When *Cranmer* was condemn'd for a Heretick in Queen *Mary's* time, he own'd, the capital subject of his condemnation was, *His not confessing a corporal Presence of our Saviour on the Altar*. *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and others the pretended Martyrs of the *English* Reformation mention'd by Mr. *Burnet*, all suffer'd for the same cause. *Calvin* says as much of the *French* Martyrs, whose authority he opposes against the *Lutherans*. This article was esteem'd of that high importance even in 1549, and during the whole reign of *Edward*, that *When the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishment of a form of Doctrine*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *which should contain the chief points of religion, enquiry was chiefly made concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament*. It was therefore, at that time, not only one of the *fundamental* points, but also a capital one amongst those *fundamentals*. And it was of such concern, and the principal cause for which those boasted Martyrs spent their blood, it could not be explain'd in terms too distinct. After so clear an exposition of it as that which had been made under *Edward*, to return, as did *Elizabeth*, *in general terms* which left the thing *undetermin'd*, *that all persons might be confirmed in them, and every man in the sense of his own mind*, was betraying truth, and putting error on the level with it. In a word, *these general terms* in a *Confession of Faith*, were nothing but a fallacy in the most serious of all concerns, and where the utmost sincerity is required. This is what the *English* Reformers ought to have imputed to *Elizabeth*. But politicks out balanced Religion, nor was it now to their purpose to gravely to condemn the *Real* Presence. Wherefore the twenty-eighth article of *Edward's* Confession, wherein it was condemn'd,

Calvin. adversus Heresiam, epist. p. 801. p. 11. l. 1. p. 164.

Was

was very much changed, and *a great deal left out*; all that shew'd the *Real* Presence was impossible and contradictory to the residence of Christ's Body in Heaven. *All this was suppressed*, says Mr. *Burnet*, and that *express definition dasht over with minium.* The Historian takes care to tell us, *it is still legible:* but that even is a testimony against the expunged Doctrine. They would have it still legible, to the end a proof might be extant, that this was the very point they had concluded to reverse. They had remonstrated to Queen *Elizabeth* concerning Images, *That it could cast a great reflexion on the first Reformers, should they again set up in Churches what these so zealous Martyrs of the Evangelical purity had so carefully removed.* It was of no less criminal a nature, to rescind from the *Confession* of *Faith* of these pretended Martyrs, what they had placed in it, in opposition to the *Real* Presence, and to annul that Doctrine, in testimony whereof they had given up their lives. Instead of their plain and express definitions, they were content to say, conformably to Queen *Elizabeth*'s design, *In general terms, that the Body of Christ is given and received after a spiritual manner*; *and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* The first part of the article is very true, taking *spiritual manner* for a manner that is above our senses and nature, as the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* understand it; nor is the second part less certain, taking the reception for a profitable reception and in the sense St. *John* meant, when he said of *Jesus Christ*, *that his own received him not*, altho' he were in the world in person in the midst of them; that is to say, they neither received his Doctrine nor his Grace. Furthermore, what was added in *Edward*'s Confession, with reference to the Communion of the wicked who

Ibid. l. III. p. 435. 406.

p. 397.

Ibid. 405.

John i. 10. 11

receive nothing but the ſymbols, was cut off in like manner, and care was taken that nothing, but what the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* might approve, ſhould be retain'd with reſpect to the *Real* Preſence.

VII. Subſtantial changes in *Edward's* Liturgy. *P. 11. p. 592.*

For the ſame reaſon, whatever condemn'd the *Corporal* Preſence, was now changed in *Edward's* Liturgy: for inſtance, the Rubrick there explain'd the reaſon for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural Fleſh and Blood, becauſe that is only in Heaven.* But under *Elizabeth*, theſe words were lopped off, and the full liberty of adoring the Fleſh and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* was allow'd as preſent in the Euchariſt. What the pretended Martyrs and Founders of the *Engliſh* Reformation had held for groſs *Idolatry*, became an innocent action in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. In *Edward's* ſecond Liturgy, theſe words, which had been left ſtanding in the firſt, were taken away; *viz. The Body of our Blood of Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy body and thy Soul unto everlaſting life*; but theſe words, which *Edward* had left out becauſe they ſeem'd [illegible] *the belief of the Corporal Preſence* [illegible] Queen *Elizabeth*. The will of King became the rule of Faith, and what we now ſee removed by this Queen, was again inſerted in the Common-prayer book by King *Charles* II.

P. 11. 1 [illegible]

VIII. An inſtance of Mr. *Burnet*, who [illegible] *the* [illegible] *Church*, [illegible]

Notwithſtanding all theſe changes in ſuch eſſential matters, Mr. *Burnet* would make us believe, there was no Variation in the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Reformation. *The Doctrine of the Church*, ſays he, [illegible] *Preſence* [illegible] *ment*, in like manner [illegible] *preſent*, *Our* [illegible] *not the ſight* [illegible] *in a ſimple manner*, as if one could ſpeak too

diſtinctly

distinctly in matters of Faith. But this is not all. 'Tis a manifest Variation in Doctrine, not only to embrace what is contrary to it, but to leave undecided what was decided formerly. If the ancient *Catholicks*, after deciding in express terms the *Son* of God's Equality with his *Father*, had suppress'd what they had pronounced at *Nice*, contenting themselves with barely calling him God in general terms, and in the sense the *Arians* could not deny it, insomuch that, what had been decided so expressly, should have become undecided and indifferent; would they not have alter'd the Church's Faith and stept backwards? now, this is what was done, under *Elizabeth*, by the Church of *England*; and none can acknowledge it more clearly than Mr. *Burnet* hath done in the words above-cited, where it stands confess'd in express terms, that it was neither by chance, or forgetfulness, but from a premeditated design that they omitted the words used in *Edward*'s time, and, that *No express definition was made against the Corporal Presence*; on the contrary, *it was let lie as a speculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind* to reject or embrace it: in this manner, either sincerely, or politically, the Faith of the Reformers was forsaken, and the *Dogma* of the *Corporal* Presence left for indifferent, against which they had combated even unto blood.

was not changed. *Fest. t.* 111. *p.* 4 6.

392.

IX. *England* indifferent as to the *Real* Presence.

This, if we believe Mr. *Burnet*, is yet the present state of the Church of *England*. It was on this foundation that the Bishop *William Bedell*, whose life he writes, grounding himself, believed that a great company of *Lutherans* who had fled to *Dublin* for refuge, might without difficulty communicate with the Church of *England*, *which in reality*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *hath so great a moderation in that matter* (the Real Presence)

Life of B. *Bedell* *p.* 157. 158.

Presence; *that no positive definition of the manner of the Presence being made, men of different sentiments may agree in the same acts of worship, without being obliged to declare their opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their several persuasions.* Thus hath the Church of *England* corrected her teachers, and reform'd her first Reformers.

X. Moreover, the *English* Reformation neither under *Edward* nor *Elizabeth*, ever employ'd, in the explanation of the Eucharist, the *Substance* of the Body, nor those incomprehensible operations, which *Calvin* so much exalts. These expressions too much favour'd a *Real Presence*, and it was for this reason they were not made use of either in *Edward*'s reign, when that was designedly excluded, or in *Elizabeth*'s, when the thing was to be left *undetermin'd*; and *England* was very sensible that these words of *Calvin*, little suitable to the Doctrine of the *figurative* sense, could not be introduced into it otherwise, than by forcing too visibly their natural sense.

Nor did the word substance, nor those operations, which Calvin raises in the Eucharist, ever admitted by them.

XI. The article of *Supremacy* now remains to be consider'd. True it is, *Elizabeth* opposed it, and this title of *Head* of the Church, in her judgment too great for *Kings*, seem'd to her still more insupportable in a *Queen*, not to say ridiculous. *A famous Preacher among those of the Reformation*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *put this jeering about, that it in her head*; that is, some remains of shame were still to be met with in the *English* Church; nor was it without some little remorse that she gave up her authority to the secular power; but policy got the better even in this point. As much ashamed, as the Queen was in her heart of this title of the Church's *Supreme Head*, she accepted of it, and exercised it under another name. By an act which pass'd in 1559,

The Queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical [illegible] by the Act of 1559.

It

The supremacy was again annexed to the Crown, and declared that the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the Church, is for ever annexed to the Regal dignity, and whosoever, should refuse to swear and acknowledge the Queen *to be the supreme governor in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal within her Dominions, was to forfeit any Office he had either in Church or State; and to be thenceforth disabled to hold any employment during life.* This is what the *Queen*'s scruple ended in; and all she did to moderate the laws of *Henry* VIIIth with regard to the King's Supremacy, was, that whereas denying the Supremacy in King *Henry*'s time, cost men *their lives*, in *Elizabeth*'s, it cost them but a *forfeiture of their goods.* L. III. § 5. 386. *Ibid.* 386.

XII. Resolution of the Catholick Bishops.

The *Catholick* Bishops, for this bout, were not forgetful of their duty, and being inflexibly attached to the *Catholick* Church and Holy *See*, were deposed for having constantly refused to subscribe the *Queen*'s Supremacy, no less than the other articles of the Reformation. But *Parker*, the *Protestant* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was of all the most zealous in submitting to the yoke. It was to him complaints were address'd of the *Queen*'s scruple concerning the title of *Supreme* head: informations were given to him of all that was done towards inducing the *Catholicks* to acknowledge it; and infine, the *English* Reformation was no longer judged compatible with the liberty and authority which *Jesus Christ* had given to his Church. What had been resolved by the *Parliament* in 1559, in favour of the *Queen*'s Supremacy, was accepted by the Synod of *London* in 1562, by the consent of the whole Clergy as well of the upper as the lower house. *Ibid.* &c. MDLXII.

XIII. Declaration of the

Here, amongst the articles of Faith, the *Supremacy* was inserted in these terms: *The regal majesty*

Clergy concerning Queen's Supremacy. See Laws [illegible] 1 [illegible] 1 [illegible].

majesty hath the sovereign power in this kingdom of England *and in all its other dominions, and the sovereign governance of all subjects, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, appertains to it in all sort of causes, insomuch that they can never be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.* The design of those last words was to exclude the Pope: but as those other words, *in all sorts of causes*, placed here without limitation, as was done in the act of Parliament, imported a full sovereignty even in causes Ecclesiastical, not excepting those of Faith; they were ashamed of so great an excess, and applied to it this modification: *When we attribute to the regal majesty this sovereign government, whereat we find many slanderers are offended, we give not to our Kings the administration of the Word and Sacraments, as the ordinances of our Queen* Elizabeth *show clearly: but we give only to them what the Scripture attributes to certain Princes, the power of withholding in their duty all degrees, whether Laymen or Ecclesiastics, and of repressing the contumacious by the sword of the civil power.*

XIV. The [illegible] Parliament [illegible] Journal [illegible] 1 [illegible]

This explanation is conformable to a declaration which the Queen had publish'd, wherein she readily *all laws are authorized for the ministering of God's Word.* The *Puritans*, easily to be satisfied in what regards [illegible] authority, thought they were thereby sheltered from what evil lever attempted the [illegible]; but in vain: for the question was not whether or no the *English* attributed to the Crown the administration of the Word and Sacraments: who ever accused them of intending that Kings should administer the Pulpit, or distribute the Communion, or Baptism? and what is there so extraordinary in this declaration of Queen *Elizabeth*, [illegible] that this country appertains not to her? the question is, whether,

whether, in these matters, the royal Majesty hath a simple direction and external execution only, or whether it hath not also an essential influence as to the validity of *Ecclesiastical* acts. But altho' it be in appearance reduced to the simple execution in this article, the contrary was but too manifest in practice. Licence for preaching was granted by letters patent and under the great seal. The *Queen* made *Bishops* by the same authority that the *King* her Father and the *King* her Brother had done before, and for a limited time, if she pleased. The commission for consecrating them issued from the regal power. Excommunications were decreed by the same authority. The *Queen* regulated by her injunctions, not the external worship only, but Faith and Doctrine, or made them be regulated by her *Parliament*, whose acts derived their validity from her: nor was any thing more unheard of among Christians than the proceeding of those times.

Burn. 2 part. l. III. p. 385. 400. 402. 397. &c.

XV. The Parliament continues to attribute to themselves the decision of points of Faith.

The *Parliament* pronounced directly in regard to Heresy; regulated the conditions under which Doctrine was to be judged heretical; and where these conditions were wanting, forbad the condemning of it; and *reserved to itself the cognizance thereof*. The matter in hand is not to examine, whether the rule, which the *Parliament* prescribed, be good or bad, but whether the *Parliament*, a secular body, whose acts receive their sanction from the Prince, be impower'd to decide in matters of Faith, and *reserve to itself the cognizance thereof*; that is, whether they may challenge it to themselves, and take away the exercise of it from the Bishops on whom *Christ* had bestow'd it: for the *Parliament*'s saying, *they would judge with the advice of the clergy in their Convocation*, was nothing but a sham;

Burn. l. [illegible]

since,

ſince, when all is ſaid, this was ſtill reſerving to the *Parliament* the ſupreme authority, and hearing the Paſtors rather as Counſelors whoſe lights they borrow'd, than as natural Judges, to whom only the deciſion appertain'd of divine right. I cannot think a Chriſtian heart can hear of ſuch an invaſion of the paſtoral authority and the rights of the Sanctuary without a ſigh.

XVI. On what it grounded the validity of the *Engliſh* Ordination.

But leſt it ſhould be imagined, that all theſe attempts of the ſecular authority on the rights of the Sanctuary, were nothing but uſurpations of the *Laity*, the *Clergy* not conſenting to them, and this under pretext of the above explanation given by the ſaid *Clergy* to the *Queen's* Supremacy in the thirty ſeventh article of the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*; what precedes and what follows, evince the contrary. What precedes, foraſmuch as this Synod being compoſed, as laſt obſerved, of both houſes of the Clergy intending to ſet forth the validity of the ordination of *Biſhops*, of *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, grounds it on a form contain'd *in the Book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and Ordering of Prieſts and Deacons*, [illegible] *the faith, and confeſſion of the Church of England*. Weak Biſhops [illegible] Clergy [illegible] rather to take the form of their Ordination from a book, [illegible] but ten years ago in King *Edward's* time, [illegible] confirmed by the authority of *Parliament*, [illegible] of St. *Gregory*, [illegible] wherein they [illegible] holy Moſes, St [illegible] Apoſtles, had been [illegible] warranted, [illegible] *Parliament*, but by [illegible] Church

Upon

Upon this it was that these Bishops founded the validity of their Consecration, and the Orders of their Priests and Deacons; and this was done pursuant to a decree of *Parliament* in 1559, wherein the doubt concerning Ordination was solved by an Act authorizing the book of Ordination, which was join'd to King *Edward*'s Liturgy: so that had not the Parliament made these Acts, the Ordinations of their whole Clergy had still remain'd dubious.

XVII. Sequel of this matter.

Burn. Ibid. p. 392.

The *Bishops* and their *Clergy* who had thus enslaved the Ecclesiastical authority, conclude in a manner answerable to such a beginning; when, after having set forth their Faith in all the foregoing articles to the number of thirty nine, they conclude with this ratification, wherein they declare, *That these articles being authorized by the consent and assent of Queen* Elizabeth, *ought to be received and executed throughout the whole realm of* England. Where we find the *Queen*'s approbation, and not only *her consent* by submission, but also her *assent*, as I may say, by express deliberation, mention'd in the Act as a condition that makes it valid; insomuch that the decrees of Bishops in matters the most within the verge of their Ministry, receive their last form and validity, in the same style with Acts of *Parliament*, from the Queen's approbation, these weak Bishops never daring all this while to remonstrate, after the example of all past Ages, that their decrees, of themselves valid and by that sacred authority, which *Jesus Christ* had annexed to their character, required nothing else from the regal power, but an entire submission and exterior protection. Thus, whilst they forget the primitive institutions of their *Church* together with the *Head* whom *Jesus Christ* had given them, and set up Princes for their Heads whom

XVIII. Decisions of Faith reserved to the authority royal, by the declaration of the Bishops.

whom *Jesus Christ* had not appointed for that end, they degraded themſelves to that pitch, that no Eccleſiaſtical Act, not even thoſe which regard *Preaching*, *Cenſures*, *Liturgy*, *Sacraments*, nay *Faith* itſelf, have any force in *England*, but inaſmuch as they are approved and made valid by *Kings*, which in the main gives to *Kings* more than the *Word*, and more than the adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, ſince it renders them the ſovereign arbiters of one and the other.

XIX. The ſame Doctrine in Scotland. [illegible]

'Tis for the ſame reaſon that we behold the firſt *Confeſſion* of *Scotland*, ſince ſhe became *Proteſtant*, publiſh'd in the name of the *Parliament*; and a ſecond *Confeſſion* of the ſame kingdom, bearing the title: *A general confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith according to the word of God, and the acts of our Parliaments.*

A great multitude of different declarations was requiſite to explain how theſe Acts did not attribute the *Epiſcopal* juriſdiction to the *Crown*: but all was nothing but mere words, ſince, when all is ſaid, it ſtill ſtands inconteſtable that no Eccleſiaſtical Act hath any force in that kingdom, no more than in *England*, unleſs ratified by the *King* and *Parliament*.

XX. [illegible]

Our *Calviniſts*, I own, ſeem far remote from this Doctrine, and I find, not only in *Calvin* [illegible], but alſo in the national Synods, expreſs condemnations of thoſe who confound the Civil government with that of the Church, [illegible] *Head of the Church*, [illegible] But [illegible] nothing that will [illegible] provided you [illegible] to the [illegible] *Kings*: inſomuch that, [illegible]

It

It appears by the whole tenor of the acts, which I have reported, how vain it is to pretend that, in the reign of *Elizabeth*, this Supremacy was reduced to more reasonable terms than in the precedent reigns, there being, on the contrary, no alteration to be found in the main. Among other fruits of the Supremacy, one was, the *Queen*'s invading the revenues of the Church under the pretence of *giving the full value of them*, even those of the Bishops, such as, till then, had remain'd sacred and inviolate. Treading in the steps of the *King* her Father, towards binding the nobility in the interests of the *Supremacy* and *Reformation*, she made them a present of a share in these consecrated goods, and this state of the Church enslaved both in her temporals and spirituals, is call'd the *English* Reformation, the re-establishment of Evangelical purity.

XXI. All that remain'd to the Church seiz'd upon *Burn. l.* III. 394. &c. *Thuan. lib.* XXI. M D LIX. *Burn. l.* III. *p.* 394.

Nevertheless, if we may form a judgment of this Reformation according to the Gospel-rule, by its fruits, there was never any thing more deplorable: seeing the effect which this miserable subjection of the Clergy did produce, was, that from thence forwards Religion was no more than a state-engine always veering at the breath of the Prince. *Edward*'s Reformation, which had intirely changed that of *Henry* VIIIth, was changed itself in an instant under *Mary*, and *Elizabeth* destroy'd in two years all that *Mary* had done before.

XXII. A remarkable passage in Mr *Burnet*, concerning the *English* Reformation.

The Bishops, reduced to fourteen in number, stood firm, together with about fifty or sixty Ecclesiaticks: but, excepting so small a number in so great a kingdom, all the rest paid obedience to the *Queen*'s injunctions, yet with so little good-will for the new Doctrine they were made to embrace, *that probably*, says Mr. *Burnet*, *it Queen* *P. 4[illegible]* *Ibid.*

Elizabeth *had not lived long, and a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before the death of all that generation, they had turned about again to the old superstitions as nimbly as they had done in Queen* Mary's *time.*

XXIII. *Inamissibility of justice rejected by the Church of England.* *Synt. Gen. 1 part. Conf. Aug. Art. xvii. p. 102.*

In this same *Confession* of *Faith*, which had been confirm'd under *Elizabeth* in 1562, there are two important points relating to Justification. In one of them, the *Inamissibility* of justice is rejected clearly enough by this declaration. *After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and sinfull again, and amend our lives.* In the other, the certainty of predestination seems quite excluded, when, after saying that *The doctrine of predestination is full of comfort to Godly persons, in confirming their Faith of eternal salvation to be enjoy'd through Jesus Christ*, they add, *It is a dangerous for carnal persons either into desperation, or into a reckelessness of most unclean living.* And, in conclusion, that *we must receive God's promises, as they are GENERALLY set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God*; the which seems to exclude that special certitude, whereby each of the faithful is obliged to believe in particular, as an Article, that he is in the number of the elect, and comprehended within that absolute decree, by which God wills their salvation: a Doctrine not agreeable, it seems, to the *Protestants* of *England*, altho' they not only bear with it in the *Calvinists*, but also the disputes from their Church have confirm'd it, as we shall see, in the Synod of *Dort*.

Ibid. xiii.

XXIV. *The beginning of the civil war in England.*

Queen *Elizabeth* encouraged underhand that disposition which those of *France* were in towards a rebellion: near the same time that the *English* Refugees

Reformation was modell'd, under that *Queen*, they declared themſelves. Our *Reform'd*, after about thirty years, grew weary of deriving their glory from their ſufferings; their patience could hold out no longer; nor did they from that time, exaggerate their ſubmiſſion to our Kings. This ſubmiſſion laſted but whilſt they were in a capacity of curbing them. Under the ſtrong reigns of *Francis* I. and *Henry* II. they were in reality very ſubmiſſive, and made no ſhew of an intention to levy war. The reign no leſs weak than ſhort of *Francis* II. inſpired them with boldneſs. The fire, ſo long conceal'd, flamed out in the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*. Yet a ſufficient ſtrength ſtill remain'd in the Government to have quench'd it at the beginning: but during the minority of *Charles* the ninth and under the regency of a *Queen*, all whoſe policy aſpired no further than to maintain her power by dangerous and trimming meaſures, the revolt became intire and the conflagration univerſal over all *France*. A particular account of theſe intrigues and wars comes not within my ſphere, nor ſhould I ſo much as have ſpoken of theſe commotions, if, contrary to all preceding declarations and proteſtations, they had not produced this new Doctrine in the Reformation, that it is lawful to take up arms againſt Prince and Country, in *Religion*'s cauſe.

France, fomented by *Elizabeth*. Change of the *Calvinian* Doctrine. *Burn. l.* III. *p.* 415. 416.

XXV. It had been well foreſeen, that the new reformed would not be ſlack in proceeding to ſuch meaſures. Not to trace back the wars of the *Albigenſes*, the ſeditions of the *Wickliffites* in *England*, the furies of the *Taborites* in *Bohemia*, it had been but too apparent, what was the reſult of all the fine proteſtations of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*. The leagues and wars ſo much deteſted at firſt, as ſoon as ever the *Proteſtants* were

The *Calviniſts* [illegible] in maxims of Religion. *Thuan. lib.* [illegible] 1562. *T.* [illegible] 17. *La Popelin.*

[illegible] were ſenſible of their ſtrength, became lawful, and *Luther* added this new article to his Goſpel. The Miniſters too of the *Vaudois* had but juſt taught this Doctrine, when the war was commenced in the Valleys againſt their Sovereigns the Dukes of *Savoy*. The new *Reformed* of *France* were not backward to follow theſe examples, nor is there any doubt but they were ſpirited up to it by their Doctors.

XXVI. As for the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, all Hiſtorians teſtify as much; nay, *Beza* owns it in his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It was from the influence of their Doctors, that the Prince of *Condé* believed himſelf innocent, or ſeem'd to believe it, altho' ſo heinous an attempt had been undertaken by his orders. It was reſolved on by the Party, to furniſh him with *men and money*, to the end *he might have a ſtrong and ſure force* to [illegible] the deſign then on foot, after the ſeizure of the two *Guiſes* in the Caſtle itſelf of *Amboiſe* where the King was in perſon, and for their carrying them away, was nothing leſs than from that very time to light up the torch of civil war throughout the whole kingdom. The whole body of the *Reformation* came into this deſign, and the [illegible] from the Province of *Xaintonge*, as is proved by *Beza*, [illegible]. The ſame *Beza* teſtifies an extream regret, that [illegible] ſhould have fail'd, and [illegible] of it into the [illegible] of [illegible].

XXVII. The *Proteſtants*, it is true, [illegible] [illegible] Reformation [illegible] attempt. But [illegible] being, at the bottom, [illegible] Religion. [illegible]

and an enterprize carried on by the Reformed. In the first place, because it was set on foot occasionally from the executions of some of the Party, and especially of *Anne du Bourg*, that famous pretended Martyr. *Beza*, after relating this execution together with the other evil treatments the *Lutherans* underwent (then all the Reformed were so call'd) introduces the history of this conspiracy, and at the head of the motives which gave birth to it, places *These manifestly tyrannical ways of proceeding, and the menaces that on this occasion were levelled at the greatest men of the kingdom*, such as the Prince of *Condè* and the *Chastillons*. Then it was, says he, *that many Lords awaked as from a profound sleep: so much the more*, continues this Historian, *as they considered, that the Kings* Francis *and* Henry *never would attempt any thing against the men of* quality, *contenting themselves with awing the great ones by the correction of the meaner sort; that now quite different measures were taken*; whereas, *in consideration of the number concern'd, they should have applied less violent remedies, rather than thus open a gate to a million of seditions.*

Protestants and that the motive to it was Religion. First demonstration.

XXVIII. Second demonstration, wherein the advice of *Beza* and the Divines of the Party, is reported.

The Confession is sincere, I must own. Whilst nothing but the dregs of the people were punish'd, the Lords of the Party did not stir, but let them go quietly to execution. When they, like the rest, were threaten'd, they bethought themselves of their weapons, or, as the author expresses it, *Each man was forced to look at home, and many began to range themselves together, to provide for a just defence, and to re-settle the ancient and lawful government of the kingdom.* This last word was necessary to disguise the rest: but what goes before, shews plainly enough the design in hand, and the sequel evinces it still more clearly. For these means of *a just defence* imported,

Ibid. 249. ported, that the thing *Having been proposed to Lawyers and men of reason in* France *and* Germany, *as he said to the most learned Divines; it was discover'd that they might lawfully off so the Government usurpt by the* Guises, *and take up arms, in case of need, to repel their violence, provided the Princes of the blood, who in such cases are born lawful Magistrates, or one of them, would but undertake it, especially at the request of the Estates of* France, *or of the most part thereof.* Here then is a second demonstration against the new *Reformation*, because the Divines, whom they consulted, were *Protestants*, as it is expressly specified by *Thuanus*, with them an unexceptionable author. And *Beza* insinuates it plainly enough, when he says, they took the advice *of the most learned Divines*, who, in his judgment, could be none else but the *Reformed*. As much may we believe in regard of the *Lawyers*, no *Catholick* having ever been so much as named.

Lib. xxiv. *p.* 372. *Edit. Thou.*

XXIX. Third demonstration. A third demonstration, arising from the same words is, that these Princes of the blood, *born Magistrates in this affair*, were reduced to the sole Prince of *Condé* a declared *Protestant*, altho' there were five or six more at the least, and amongst others, the King of *Navarre*, the Prince's elder Brother and first Prince of the blood; but whom the Party fear'd rather than depended on: a circumstance that leaves not the least doubt that the design of the new *Reformation* was to command the enterprize.

XXX. Fourth demonstration. *Le Pelin. Ibid.* 254. &c. Nay, not only the Prince is the sole person placed at the head of the whole Party, but, what makes the fourth and last conviction against the Reformation, *that the most grand part of the Estates*, whose concurrence was demanded, were almost all *Catholick*. The most important and the most special orders were addressed to them, and

and the enterprize regarded them alone. For the end they propoſed to themſelves therein was, as *Beza* owns, that *A Confeſſion of Faith might be preſented to the King aſſiſted by a good and lawful counſel.* It is plain enough, *this counſel would never have been good and lawful*, unleſs the Prince of *Condè* with his Party had govern'd it, and the *Reformed* obtain'd all they had a mind to. The action was to begin by a requeſt they would have preſented to the King for obtaining liberty of conſcience; and he who managed the whole affair, was *la Renaudie*, a man condemn'd to rigorous penalties for forgery, by a decree in *Parliament*, at which court he ſued for a benefice; after this, ſheltering himſelf at *Geneva*, turning Heretick out of ſpite, *burning with a deſire of revenge and of defacing by ſome bold action the infamy of his condemnation*, he undertook to ſtir up to rebellion, as many diſaffected perſons as he could meet with; and at laſt retiring into the houſe of a *Huguenot* Lawyer at *Paris*, had the direction of all matters in conjunction with *Antony Chandieu*, the Proteſtant Miniſter of *Paris*, who afterwards gave himſelf the name of *Sadael.*

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 111. p. 313.

Thuan. Ibid. 737, 738.

XXXI. The *Huguenots* that diſcover'd the conſpiracy, do not juſtify the Party.

True it is, the *Huguenot* Lawyer, with whom he lodged, and *Ligueres* another *Huguenot*, had a horror of ſo atrocious a crime, and diſcover'd the plot: but that does not excuſe the Reformation, but ſhews only, there were ſome particular men in the ſect, whoſe conſcience was better than that of the *Divines* and *Miniſters*, and that of *Beza* himſelf and the whole body of the Party, who ran headlong into the conſpiracy over all the Provinces of the Realm. And truly, we have ſeen the ſame *Beza* accuſing *of perfidiouſneſs* theſe two faithful ſubjects, who alone of all the Party, had an abhorrence of and diſcover'd the plot: ſo that, in the judgment of the Miniſters, thoſe

Beza. Thuan. La Popelin. Ibid. S. n. 26. 1.

that came into this black conspiracy, are the honest men, and those who detected it, are the traytors.

XXXII. The protestation of the conspirators not satisfy'd with the Council [illegible] *Parliament* [illegible] *Chancellor*.

It is to no purpose to say, that *la Renaudie* and all the conspirators protested, they had no design of attempting any thing against the *King*, or *Queen*, or the royal family: for, is a man to be deem'd innocent because he has form'd the design of so execrable a parricide? was it to light a matter in a flame, to call in question the *King*'s majority and elude the ancient laws, which had fixed it at fourteen years of age by the joint consent of all the orders of the Realm? to presume, on this pretext, to appoint him such counsel as they thought fit? to rush arm'd into his Palace? to assault and force him? to ravish from this sacred *asylum* and out of the King's arms, the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, on account that the *King* made use of them in his counsel? to expose the whole court and the *King*'s own person to all the violence and all the bloodshed that no consultations or arms, and the night's obscurity, might produce? in a word, to fly to arms against the King's arms, with a resolution not to lay them down till the *King* should be forced to a compliance with all that they desired? [illegible] the pretence [illegible] done to the *Guises* [illegible] only to [illegible] equipages, what right had the Princes of *Condé* to cripple of those Pensions [illegible] to deliver them up to the hands of their enemies, who as *Francis* himself owns, made a great part of the conspirators, and to employ the sword against them, as speaks *Thuanus*, should they not content voluntarily to relinquish all place at court? what manner protest of a particular commission given, as *Francis* words it, *Thus* [illegible] *affected* [illegible] such as *la Renaudie* [illegible] *generally*, [illegible] *Prince*

roughly and exactly, 'into all the employments heap'd upon the Guises, shall a Prince of the blood, of his private authority, hold them for legally convicted, and put them in the power of those, whom he knows to be *Spurred on with the spirit of revenge for outrages received from them, as well in their own persons, as those of their kindred and relations*, for these are *Beza*'s words. What becomes of society, if such wicked attempts be allow'd of? but what becomes of Royalty, if men dare to execute them sword in hand, in the *King*'s own Palace, seize on his Ministers and tear them from his side, put him under tuition, his sacred Person in the power of rebels, who would have possessed themselves of his Castle, and upheld such a treason with a war set on foot over all the kingdom? this is the fruit resulting from the counsels *of the most learned* Protestant *Divines, and Lawyers of the best renown.* This is what *Beza* approves, and what *Protestants* defend even to this day.

Burn. l. iii. p. 415.

XXXIII. The hopefulness and contrivance of Calvin.

Calvin is cited, who, after the contrivance had miscarried, wrote two letters wherein he testifies, he had never approved it. But after having had notice of a conspiracy of this nature, is it enough to blame it, without giving himself any further concern to stop the progress of so flagitious an undertaking? had *Beza* believed, that *Calvin* did as much detest this deed as it deserved, would he have approved it himself, would he have boasted to us the approbation *of the most learned Divines* of the Party? who does not therefore perceive, that *Calvin* acted here too remissly, and provided he could exculpate himself in case of ill success, was no wise averse to the conspirators hazarding the event? if we believe *Brantome*, the Admiral was in a much better disposition: and the Protestant writers vapour much at

Calvin. Epist. lib. iii. ep. 2.

at what he wrote in the life of this nobleman, *viz.* that none durst ever speak to him about this enterprise, *Because they knew him for a man of probity, a man of worth, a lover of honour, who accordingly would have first kick'd the conspirators well rebuked, and detected the whole; nay, would himself have been aiding to quell them.* Yet nevertheless the thing was done, and the Historians of the Party relate with complacency, what ought not to be mention'd but with horror.

Brantome, de l'Amiral de Chastil.

XXXIV. References cannot be an certainty of histories affirm in this occasion.

There is no room here for eluding a certain fact, by discoursing on the uncertainty of histories and the partiality of Historians. These common-place-topicks are only fit to raise a mist. Should our Reformed arraign the credit of *Thuanus*, whose works they printed at *Geneva*, and *whose authority*, we have been lately told by a Protestant historian, *none ever disputed*; they have but to read *la Popelinière* one of their own, and *Beza* one of their chiefs, to find their Party convicted of a crime, which the *Admiral*, as much a *Protestant* as he was, judged so unworthy of a man of honour.

Cont. Ind. n. 1. 4. Part 7. 1. Project.

XXXV. [illegible] was [illegible] d [illegible] IX. [illegible] [illegible]

Yet this great man of honour, who had such an abhorrence of the conspiracy of *Amboise* either because it did not succeed, or because the measures were ill-concerted, or because he found open war more to his advantage; made no scruple, two years after, of putting himself at the head of the rebellious *Calvinists*. Then the which [illegible] and them [illegible] *Guisen* made [illegible] time, and rebellion was the [illegible] Those, whom their historians [illegible] moderate, only said, they [illegible] to be [illegible]. However, this was their [illegible] that to affirm them [illegible] to be [illegible], [illegible] was not the profession of men of courage; but, to be men of courage in [illegible]

this way, they muſt renounce the title of *Reformers*, and much more, that of *Confeſſors* of the Faith, and *Martyrs*: for it is not in vain that St. *Paul* ſaid after *David*, *we are accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter*; *and Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf: *Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep, in the midſt of wolves.* I have by me *Calvin*'s own letters well atteſted, wherein, at the beginning of the troubles of *France*, he thinks he does enough in writing to the Baron *des Adrets* againſt pillaging and violence, againſt image-breaking, and againſt the depredation of ſhrines and Church-treaſures *without publick authority.* To be ſatisfied, as he is, with telling the ſoldiers thus enrolled, *Do violence to no man, and be content with your pay*, adding nothing more; is ſpeaking of this militia as you do of a lawful militia: and it is thus that St. *John the Baptiſt* decided in behalf of thoſe who bore arms under their lawful Princes. The doctrine, which allow'd taking them up in the cauſe of Religion, was afterwards ratified, I don't ſay by the Miniſters in particular only, but alſo in common by their Synods, and it was neceſſary to proceed to this deciſion in order to ingage in the war thoſe *Proteſtants*, who from a ſenſe of the ancient principles of Chriſtian Faith, and the ſubmiſſion they had ſo frequently promiſed at the beginning of the new *Reformation*, did not believe that a Chriſtian ſhould maintain the liberty of conſcience otherwiſe than by ſuffering, according to the Goſpel, in all patience and humiltiy. The brave and wiſe *la Noüe*, who was at firſt of this opinion, was drawn into a contrary ſentiment and practice by the authority of the Miniſters and Synods. The Church was for that time *infallible*, and they yielded blindly to her authority againſt their own conſciences.

Rom. viii. 36. *Mat.* x. 16.

Luke, iii. 14.

Now

XXXVI. Decisions of the Calvinian National Synods, in approbation of taking up arms.

Now the expres's decisions relating to this matter were, for the most part, made in *provincial* Synods; but, that there may be no occasion to search for 'em there, it will be sufficient to observe, that these decisions were precedented by the *national* Synod of *Lansaffin* in 1563, *Art.* xxxviii. by particular facts of this import, "That a Minister of *Lansaffin* who, in other respects, had "behaved uprightly; terrified by the threats of "his enemies, had writ to the Queen mother, "that he never had consented to the bearing of "arms, although he had consented and contri-"buted thereto. *Item*, that he had promised not "to preach till the King should grant him leave. "Since that time, having a sense of his fault, "he had made a publick confession of it before "all the people, on a day of celebrating the "Supper, in the presence of all the Ministers of "the country and of all the faithful. The query "is, whether he may resume his pastoral charge? "the opinion is, he may: nevertheless, he shall "write to him by whom he had been tempted, "to notify to him his repentance, and shall in-"treat him to let the Queen know as much, and "all whomsoever this scandal to his Church "might have reach'd; and it shall be in the "breast of the Synod of *Lansaffin*, to remove "him to some other place, as they shall think "most proper."

XXXVII. [illegible]

It is to be hoped, and to heroick an act, in the new *Reformers*, to make war against their *Sovereign*: Rebellion's taken, that it's made criminal in a Minister to have repented of, and ask'd pardon for it of his Church. Reparation must be made before all the people in the most solemn act of Religion, namely, at the *Supper*, for respectful expressions made to the Queen; and so far shall the intelligence be carried, as to have it declared

clared to her in perſon, that this tender of reſpect is recalled, to the end ſhe may be aſſured that from henceforth, they will have no manner of regard for her; nay, they are not certain, after all this reparation and retracting, whether or no the ſcandal which this ſubmiſſion had cauſed amongſt the reform'd people, would be quite defaced. Therefore it cannot be denied, that obedience was ſcandalous to them: thus it is decided by a *national* Synod. But here is, in the forty eighth article, another deciſion which will not appear leſs wonderful: *An Abbot arrived to the knowledge of the Goſpel, had burnt all his titles, and theſe ſix years, hath not ſuffered Maſs to be ſung in the Abby.* What a Reformation! but here lies the ſtreſs of his encomium: *Nay, hath always comported himſelf* FAITHFULLY AND BORN ARMS FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE GOSPEL. A holy Abbot indeed, who far remote from *Popery*, no leſs than from the diſcipline of St. *Bernard* and St. *Benedict*, would not endure either *Maſs* or *Veſpers* in his Abby, whatever might have been the Founders expreſs injunction; and moreover, diſſatisfied with thoſe ſpiritual weapons which St. *Paul* ſo much recommended, yet too feeble for our warriors courage, hath generouſly carried arms, and drawn the ſword againſt his Prince in defence of the new Goſpel. *Let him be admitted to the Supper*, concludes the whole *national* Synod, and this Myſtery of peace becomes the ſalary of that war he had waged againſt his country.

XXXVIII. The same Doctrine perpetuated in the ſucceeding Synods and the Court.

This tradition of the Party hath been handed down to ſubſequent times ſucceſſively; and the Synod of *Alais* in 1620, return thanks to Mr. de *Chaſtillon* for his letter wherein *He promiſed to them, that he would employ whatever was in his power, after the example of his Predeceſſors, for the*

the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. This was their stile. The juncture of times, and the affairs of *Alais* explain the intention of this Lord; and what the Admiral *de Chastillon* and *Dandelot* his predecessors meant by the kingdom of *Christ*, is well known.

XXXIX. What was the spirit of the Huguenots in their wars.

The Ministers, who taught this doctrine, thought to impose upon the world, by setting up that fine discipline in their troops so much commended by *Thuanus*. It lasted indeed about three months: after this, the Soldiers from transported into the most grievous excesses, thought themselves well excated, it they did but cry out, *long live the Gospel*; and the Baron *de Aubets* who knew full well the temper of this militia, upon his being reproach'd, as a Huguenot Historian relates, that after quitting them he had done nothing worthy of his first exploits, excuted himself by saying, there was nothing he durst not enterprize *with a soldiery, that pay not revenge, passion, and lewdness*, whom *he had taught of all kinds of passion* by the cruelties he had engaged them in. If we believe the Ministers, our *Reformed* are still in the same conditions; and the most voluminous of all their writers, the author of new systems, and the Interpreter of prophecies, has but lately publish'd in print, that *The Jews, at this day, become so wicked, suffered [illegible], and [illegible] they have deceived [illegible], throughout the [illegible] [illegible]*. This, according to the Ministers, is the spirit that animates these new *Martyrs*.

D. Aub. T. I. l. III. ch. 9. p. 155. 156.

Jews are [illegible] de Poes [illegible] Christ.

Towards the middle of his Preface or Introduction

It cannot not the [illegible] of our *Reformed*, to excuse themselves, as to the civil wars, by the example of *Catholicks* under *Henry* III. and *Henry* IV. since besides the iniquitous of the *Jesuits*, defending that by the authority of

XI. What [illegible] the

Tyre and *Babylon*, they are very ſenſible, that the body of *Catholicks* which deteſted theſe exceſſes and remain'd faithful to their *Kings*, was always great: whereas, in the *Huguenot* Party, ſcarce two or three perſons of note can be found that ſtood to their loyalty.

pl. of Catholicks vindicate, the *Huguenots*.

XLI. Vain pretext of *Calviniſts* who pretend that theſe wars did not properly concern Religion.

Here again they make freſh efforts to ſhew, that theſe wars were meerly political, and nothing appertaining to Religion. Theſe empty pretexts deſerve not refutation, there needing no more to diſcover the drift of theſe wars, than to read the treaties of peace and the edicts of pacification, whereof liberty of conſcience, with ſome other privileges for the *Proteſtants*, was always the main import: but becauſe at this time, men are bent more than ever upon darkening the cleareſt fact, duty requires of me I ſhould ſpeak ſomething on this head.

XLII. Illuſions of Mr. *Burnet* 2. *part. l.* III. *p.* 415. &c.

Mr. *Burnet*, who hath taken in hand the defence of the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, enters alſo the liſts in vindication of the civil wars; but after a manner which ſhews plainly, he is acquainted with no more of our Hiſtory and Laws, than what he has pick'd up from the moſt ignorant and the moſt paſſionate of all *Proteſtant* authors. I forgive his miſtaking that famous *Triumvirate* under *Charles* IX. for the union of the King of *Navarre* with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whereas, unqueſtionably, it was that of the Duke of *Guiſe*, of the Conſtable *de Montmorency*, and the Marſhal of St *Andrew*: nor ſhould I even have thought it worth my while to have pointed out theſe ſorts of blunders, were it not that they convict him, who fell into them, of not having ſo much as ſeen one good author. 'Tis a thing leſs ſupportable to have taken, as he has done, the diſorder of *Vaſſi* for a premeditated enter-

priſe

prise of the Duke of *Guise*, with a design to break the edicts, altho' *Thuanus*, whose testimony he must not reject, and except *Beza*, too prepossessed with passion to be credited on this occasion) even *Protestant* authors aver the contrary. But to say that the Regency had been given to *Antony* King of *Navarre*; to declare, as he does, on the authority of a Regent; to affirm that this Prince, having outstript his power in the revocation of the *Edicts*, the people might join themselves to the first Prince of the blood after him, namely to the Prince of *Condé*: to carry on this empty reasoning, and say, that, after the death of the King of *Navarre*, the Regency devolved to the Prince his Brother, and that the foundation of the civil wars was the refusal made to this Prince of the Government, *to whom it of right belong'd*: in, to speak plainly, of a man so positive, mixing too much passion with too much ignorance of our affairs.

Thuan. l. xxix. 77. & seq. La Popelin. l. vii. 283. 284.

[illegible]

VIII. *[illegible] ignorance of the [illegible]*

For in the first place it is certain, that in the reign of *Charles* the ninth the Regency was conferred upon *Katherine* of *Medicis*, by the unanimous consent of the whole kingdom, and even of the King of *Navarre*. Mr. *Brook*'s Lawyers, who *[illegible]*, as he pretends, that *the Princes might be admitted to the Regency*, were ignorant of a standing custom, confirm'd by many examples ever since the time of Queen *Blanche* and St *Lewis*. These same Lawyers, according to Mr. *Burnet*'s relation, presumed even to say, *That two and twenty years [illegible] that any King of France [illegible] the government*, contrary to the express terms of *Charles* the sixth's commission [illegible], which has always been a standing law in the whole kingdom without any contradiction. To [illegible] these

La Popelin. l. vii. [illegible]

[illegible]

these Lawyers, and make *a law for France* of their ignorant and iniquitous decisions, is erecting into a state-law the pretexts of rebels.

XLIV. Sequel of Mr. *Burnet*'s fallacies.

Neither did the Prince of *Condé* ever pretend to the Regency, no, not even after the death of the King his Brother; and so far was he from calling in question the authority of Queen *Katherine*, that, on the contrary, at his rising in arms, he grounded himself on nothing but the secret orders he pretended to have received. But what deceived Mr. *Burnet* is, perchance, his having heard say, that those who join'd themselves to the Prince of *Condé* for the King's defence, who, they pretended, was a prisoner in the hands of the *Guises*, gave to the Prince the title of lawful *Protector* and *Defender* of the King and Kingdom. An *English* Man, dazzled with the title of *Protector*, imagined he saw in this title, according to the usage of his Country, the authority of a *Regent*. The Prince never so much as dreamt of it, since even his elder Brother, the King of *Navarre*, was still living: on the contrary, this empty title of *Protector* and *Defender* of the Kingdom, which in *France* signifies just nothing, was given him on no other account, but because it was very well perceived, there was no lawful title that could be given him.

Thuan. l. xxix. 1562. *La Poplin. l.* viii.

XLV. The *French Calvinists* extricate themselves no better out of this difficulty. *Coligny du P. Maimb. l. t.* xvi. *n.* 5. *p.* 303.

Let us then leave Mr. *Burnet* who, tho' a foreigner, pronounces thus premptorily on our laws, without knowing so much as the first rudiments. The *French* give the thing a different turn, and ground themselves on some of the *Queen*'s letters, *who begg'd of the Prince to preserve the Mother and Children and the whole Kingdom against those who had a mind to ruin all.* But two convincing reasons leave no shelter for this vain pretext. In the first place, because the Queen, who in this manner addressed herself pri-

Thuan. l.

AN. Dr. 1487. & [illegible]. vately to the Prince, but stretch'd her power; it being agreed that, the Regency was conferr'd upon her on condition that she did nothing of consequence, except, in concert with the participation and by the advice of the King of *Navarre*, [illegible] the first Prince of the blood, and [illegible] general, either [illegible] by the consent of the [illegible] the Provinces and armies during the minority. As therefore the King of *Navarre* was [illegible], the [illegible] all to run [illegible] rebels, [illegible] the way polish'd with of preserving her authority, and that the whole [illegible] on the side of the *Prince* and the *H[illegible]*, the last fear by way of their becoming [illegible], and left the Queen, through despair, [illegible] into their arms together with [illegible] him break all the measures of the Princes. The other Princes of the blood [illegible] Bourbon, no less than the chief men of the Kingdom and the [illegible] but [illegible] of the King and Queen so well known [illegible] the regard [illegible] any [illegible] than those of [illegible] of Anjou, [illegible] of a R[illegible] [illegible] to the Prince but [illegible] Thuan. lib. 70. [illegible] AN. [illegible] Navarre, and [illegible] government [illegible]

ting with the Prince in order to reclaim him to his duty. Wherefore, these Letters of the Queen, and all that follow'd thereupon, are counted nothing by Historians but a vain pretext. Nay, *Beza* makes it plain enough, that all turn'd on Religion, on the breach of edicts, and on the pretended murder of *Vassi*. The Prince neither stirr'd nor gave orders to the Admiral to take up arms, but *Requested, and more than intreated by those* OF THE NEW RELIGION *to grant them his protection, under the name and authority of the King and his Edicts.*

Ly Pasa. Lib. 1.

Ibid. p. 4.

XLVII. The first war resolved upon by the advice of all the Ministers, and the peace concluded notwithstanding their opposition. Testimony of *Beza. Ibid. p. 6.*

It was in an assembly, *at which were present the chief men of their Church*, that the question was proposed, whether they might in conscience *execute justice* on the Duke of *Guise, and that with no great hazard*, for thus the case was worded; and the answer return'd was, that *It was better to suffer what might please God, putting themselves only on the defensive; should necessity reduce the Churches to that point. Yea, whatever might happen, they ought not to be the first to draw the sword.* Here then is a point resolved in the new *Reformation*, that they may, without scruple, make war on a lawful power, at least in their own defence. Now they took for an assault the revocation of the edicts: so that the *Reformation* laid it down for a certain Doctrine, that she might fight for the liberty of conscience in contradiction, not only to the Faith and practice of the Apostles, but also to the solemn protestation *Beza* had but just made at his demanding justice of the King of *Navarre*, viz. *That it appertain'd to the Church of God to suffer blows, and not to give them: but that he ought to remember, this anvil had worn out many a hammer.* This saying, so much extolled by the Party, proved a deceit, since after a while, the anvil itself fell to strike

Ibid. p. 3.

contrary to nature, and wearied with bearing blows, repay'd them in its turn. *Beza* who glories in this conceit, in another place makes this important declaration in the face of all *Christendom*, *That he had warn'd of their* DUTY *as well the Prince of* Condé *as the Admiral, and all the other Lords and men of every degree, that made profession of the* GOSPEL, *to induce them to maintain*, (IN ALL MEANS POSSIBLE TO THEM), *the authority of the King's edicts and the innocence of the poor oppressed; and ever after had continued in this same will, exhorting, nevertheless, every person to take his arms in the modest manner possible, rather to fly, next to God's house, prince in all things, provided they do not suffer themselves to be dispossessed and imposed upon.* What a delusion, to persuade himself, whilst he actually authorizes a civil war, that he has fulfilled his duty by recommending modesty to a people up in arms! And as for prayer, did he not see that the necessity he required for it, would always furnish pretexts, either of hastening or delaying it? in the mean time, he was by his preachments, as much as possible, every the principal instrument to the war, one of the ends of his Gospel was, to teach this new sect to disobey and offend the Crown. All the Members concurr'd in his testimonies, and he owns himself, that when peace was mention'd, the Ministers so much opposed it, that the Prince, resolved on concluding it, was forced to exclude all of them from the debate: for they were bent to hinder the Peace, from fulfilling the hard expressions to the Princes, which they had taught them to them, namely that of *January*. But the Prince, who had consented, for peace sake, to some light retractations, *Caused them to cease and desist from their liberty, exhorting more by, but they remain'd harsh*

L. vi. p. 208.

L. vi. 250 & c.

ing

ing arms, to ſpeak their opinions, as he declared openly in the aſſembly: ſo that the Miniſters, after that time, were neither heard, nor admitted to give in their advice; by this means peace was made and all the clauſes of the new Edict make appear, that nothing but *Religion* was contended for in this war. Nay it is manifeſt, had the Miniſters been hearken'd to, it would have been continued in hopes of gaining more advantageous conditions which they propoſed at large in writing, adding many things even to the Edict of *January*; and they made, ſays *Beza*, a declaration of them *To the end, poſterity might be inform'd, how they comported themſelves in this affair.* This therefore ſtands an external teſtimony, that the Miniſters approved the war, and were more bent than the Princes and the arm'd Soldiers themſelves, on purſuing it from the ſole motive of Religion, which, they pretend at preſent, was quite out of the queſtion; yet was the fundamental cauſe of the firſt wars by the conſent of all authors both *Catholick* and *Proteſtant*. *Ibid.*

XLVIII. The other wars are deſtitute of all pretext.

The reſt of the wars have not ſo much as a colour of pretext, the *Queen* then concurring with all the powers of the ſtate; neither was there any other excuſe alledged but diſcontents and contraventions: things that, when all is ſaid, have no kind of weight, but in preſuppoſing this error, that ſubjects have a right, in the cauſe of *Religion*, to take up arms againſt their *King*, altho' *Religion* preſcribes nothing but to ſuffer and obey.

XLIX. Anſwer of Mr. *Jurieu*. *Apologie*. *Lettre*. 1. *part*.

I leave now the *Calviniſts* to examine, whether there be the leaſt appearance of ſolidity in all Mr. *Jurieu*'s diſcourſes, where he ſays, that this ſame is a quarrel *wherein Religion came in meerly by chance, and to ſerve for a pretext only*;

ſince, on the contrary, it [illegible]. Religion was at the bottom of it, [illegible] overthrow of the Government was nothing but a [illegible] to cover their ſhame [illegible] Religion, and to make [illegible] how [illegible] they abhorred all ſuch conſpiracies.

But here is another [illegible] which this artful Minister prepares for his Penitents as to the conſpiracy of [illegible], which [illegible], that Be [illegible] *the Goſpel* [illegible]. It is then a trick for R[illegible] who had nought to do but the Goſpel, to turn a conſpiracy that is condemn'd by the Goſpel, not only to be much cenſur'd, provided it only militates againſt [illegible]. But what follows in Mr. *Jeanes* will make it evident, he underſtands as little of [illegible] as *Germany*, [illegible] *Tr. 5.* [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] *of Government* [illegible] that the *Jeſuits* condemn'd the [illegible] to ſhame and [illegible] Chriſtians, that he [illegible] to the [illegible].

The [illegible] R[illegible] to [illegible] have been [illegible].

[illegible]

His

His long recriminations with which he fills a Volume, are not a whit more to the purpose, since this the main question will always return, whether those they boast for the world's *Reformers*, have diminish'd, or increased its evils, and whether they are to be consider'd as *Reformers* who correct them, or rather as scourges whom God sends to punish them.

Here might that question find place, whether it be true that the *Reformation*, as she boasts, never aim'd at establishing herself by force: but the doubt is easily resolved by all the above-mention'd facts. As long as the *Reformation* was weak, it is true, she always seem'd submissive; nay, gave out for a fundamental point of her Religion, that she believed it, not only unlawful to use force, but even to repel it. But it was soon discover'd, this was of that kind of modesty which fear inspires, a fire hid in ashes: for no sooner could the *Reformation* attain to be uppermost in any Kingdom, but she was for ruling uncontrol'd. In the first place, no security there for Priests and Bishops: secondly, the true Catholicks were proscribed, banished, deprived of their goods, and in some places, of life by the Law of the state, as for instance, in *Sweadland*. The fact is certain whatever may have been said to the contrary. This was what they immediately came to who cry'd so loud against violence; and there needs but to consider the acrimony, the bitterness, and insolence which was diffused thro' the first books and the first sermons of these *Reformed*; their bloody invectives, the calumnies they blacken'd our Doctrine with, the sacrileges, the impieties, the idolatries with which they incessantly reproached us; the hatred they inspired against us, the plunderings which were the result of their first preachments, *The like*

I. Question concerning the spirit of the Reformation. Whether it was a spirit of meekness, or of violence. *Cont. T.* 1. *Lett.* viii. *n.* 1. *p.* 129. & *seq.* *Lett.* xvi. *n.* 9. *p.* 315. &c.

Pasq. l. 1. c. 10.

and violence which appear'd in their seditious libels set up against the *King*; in order to form a judgment what was to be expected from such beginnings.

II. Sequel of the violent proceedings, which appear'd in the Reformation. *Pasq.*

But many wise men, say they, condemn'd these libels: so much the worse for the *Presbyterian* party, whose transports were so extream, that all the wise men who remain'd in it, could not repress them. These libels were spread all over *Paris*, posted up, and dispersed in every street; *fixed even to the door of the King's chamber*; nor did the wise ones who disapproved this, use any efficacious measures for its prevention. When that pretended Martyr, *Anne du Burg*, had declared in the tone of a Prophet to the President *Minard*, whom he challenged, that in spite of his refusing to absent himself and decline hearing his cause, he never should sit judge in it; the *Presbyterians* knew full well how to make good his prophecy, and accordingly the President was murder'd towards the evening in entering his house. It was known afterwards, that *le Maire* and *St. Ange*, both of them very averse to the new Gospel, would have met with the like fate, had they come to the Court: so dangerous a thing it is to offend the *Reformed* world! and we learn from *Bussi d'amboise*, that *Sarlay*, a relation of the Queen's, [illegible] *Presbyterians*, [illegible] *Protestants*, [illegible] *King*. He said that to comfort or hearten the [illegible], yet we see, [illegible] the [illegible] the Party [illegible] *Paris* [illegible] *Bussi d'amboise*, [illegible]

Thuan. l. 26. An. 1559. Bussi d'amboise. l. 1. p. 14.

Bussi. l. 1. p. 14.

[illegible]

prophecies, when ſuch Angels are at hand to execute them. The aſſurance of *Anne du Bourg* in foretelling ſo diſtinctly what was to happen, diſcovers plainly the good intelligence he had received; and what is ſaid in the hiſtory of *Thuanus*, in order to ſhew him a Prophet rather than an accomplice of ſuch a crime, ſmells rank of an addition from *Geneva*. We muſt not therefore wonder, that a Party which nurſed ſuch daring ſpirits, ſhould take off the mask as ſoon as ever a weak reign open'd a proſpect of ſucceſs, which we have ſeen, they never failed to do.

LIV. Variance.

A new Defender of the Reformation is perſuaded, from the diſſolute behaviour, and whole conduct of the Prince of *Condé*, that there was *More of ambition than Religion in what he did*; and he owns, that Religion *was of no other uſe to him, than to furniſh him with inſtruments of revenge*. He thinks by that means to reſolve all into policy, and juſtify his own Religion: not reflecting, this is the very thing we charge them with; *viz.* that a Religion ſtiling itſelf *Reformed*, was ſo prompt an inſtrument of revenge to an ambitious Prince. 'Tis nevertheleſs the crime of the whole Party. But what does this author ſay to us of the pillaging of Churches and Veſtries, of breaking down Images and Altars? Why truly he thinks to clear all by ſaying that *the Prince neither by prayers, nor by remonſtrances, nor even by chaſtiſements could put a ſtop to theſe diſorders*. This is no manner of excuſe: 'tis a conviction of that violence, which reign'd in the Party, whoſe fury the very *Heads* could not reſtrain. But I am very much afraid that they acted by the ſame ſpirit with *Cranmer* and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Reformers, who, upon the complaints that were made againſt Image-breakers,

Cont. T. 1. Lett. 11. n. 3. p. 45. & ſeq. Ibid. Lett. xviii. p. 331.

Ibid. Lett. xvii. n. 8.

Ibid.

Sacr. 2. l. 1. p. 9. *Altho' they had a mind to cover the heat of the people and keep it within compass, yet were unwilling it shall be done after such a manner, as to discover their fear too much.* This was the case of the chief leaders on our *Clergy*, who, tho' they judged themselves obliged in honour to blame these enormities, yet we do not find, they ever did publick penance for authorising of them. *Bishop* Burnet will tell you, that our *Reformed* were always ready at the least signal to run to arms, to break open prisons, to raze on Churches; nor was any sort of people ever more factious. What [illegible] the cruelties exercised by the Queen of [illegible] and Priests and Rebellions. The towers [illegible] which the Catholicks were cast headlong, and the stoop pits they were thrown into, are to this day. The wells of the Bishop's palace at *Nymes*, and the cruel instruments [illegible] to the *Protestant* sermon, are not less known to the whole world. We [illegible] informations and decrees, by which it appears that these bloody executions were [illegible] of *Protestants* in Council assembled. We have the original orders of Council, and [illegible] Causes, at the request of Confederates, to compel the *Papists* to [illegible] *Papists*, who withdrew to escape these violences, were stript of their [illegible] Townhouses of [illegible] and [illegible] Protestants [illegible] Wrongs [illegible] to [illegible] such [illegible] Rebellions, [illegible] and they

do

do from Scripture, and chant so harmoniously their *Psalms* in Rhime! no fear, they soon found means to shelter themselves from Martyrdom, after the example of their Doctors, who always were in security themselves whilst they encouraged others; both *Luther* and *Melanchton*, *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, *Calvin* and *Oecolampadius* with all the rest of them, speedily betook themselves to secure sanctuaries: nor am I acquainted, amongst the Heads of the *Reformers* with any, even false Martyrs, unless perchance such a one as *Cranmer*, whom we have seen, after a repeated abjuration of his Faith, unresolved to die in the profession of it, till he was convinced, his renouncing it, would be unavailable to save his life.

But to what purpose, it may be objected, the reflecting on these past transactions, which a peevish Minister will say is only done to exasperate 'em the more, and aggravate their misfortunes? such fears ought not to hinder me from relating what appertains so manifestly to my subject; and all that equitable *Praesiantus* can, in a history, require from me is, that not relying wholly on the credit of their adversaries, I also give ear to their own Historians. I do more than this, and not content with hearing them, I join issue with them on their evidence. Let our brethren open then their eyes; let 'em cast them on the ancient Church, which, during so many ages of so cruel a persecution, never flew out, not for a moment, nor in one single person; but was seen as submissive under *Diocletian*, nay, under *Julian* the Apostate when he was spread over all the earth, as under *Nero* and *Domitian*, when but in her infancy. There indeed appear'd the finger of God truly visible. But the case is quite different, when men rebel as soon as able; and when their

LIII. Answer to those, who might say, [illegible] religion [illegible] just

wars

wars last much longer than their patience. Experience sufficiently shews us in all kinds of sects, that conceited opinion and strong prejudice can mimick fortitude, at least for a while; but maxims of Christian meekness are never in the heart, when men so readily exchange them, not only for opposite practices, but also for opposite maxims, with deliberation and by express decisions, as it is plain our *Pretenders* have done. Here is therefore a true *Variation* in their Doctrine, and an effect of that perpetual instability, which cannot but fix on their *Reformation* a character suitable to those works which having but what's human in them, of course must *come to nought*, according to *Gamaliel*'s maxim.

Acts v. 38.

LIV. The assassination of the Duke of *Guise* by *Poltrot*, held for the Reformation, and not of Religion.

The assassination of *Francis* Duke of *Guise* ought not to pass unmention'd in this history, forasmuch as the author of this murder mingled his Religion with his crime. 'Tis *Beza* that represents to us *Poltrot* as *excited by some secret impulse*, at the time he resolved upon this infamous exploit; and in order to make us understand that this *secret impulse* was from God, he also describes the same *Poltrot* just ready to enter on the execution of this black design, *Praying to God with ardency, that he would make [illegible] his will, [illegible] was difficult [illegible]; [illegible], that he would give him courage, and strength [illegible] this tyrant, and to [illegible] Orleans from oppression, and [illegible] know [illegible] such a [illegible] tyranny. [illegible], and in the [illegible] of the [illegible], he struck the stroke; [illegible], and [illegible] rising up [illegible] Nation [illegible] our [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] always been the object of their

their hatred. No ſooner were they in a condition to effect it, but we have ſeen them conſpire his ruin, and this by the advice of their Doctors. After the riot of *Vaſſi*, altho' it was certain he had uſed all his endeavours to appeaſe it; the Party roſe up againſt him with hideous clamours; and *Beza* who carried their complaints to Court, acknowledges, *He had deſired and begg'd of God innumerable times, either to change the heart of the* Duke *of* Guiſe, *which, nevertheleſs, he could not hope, or that he would rid the Kingdom of him; whereof he calls to witneſs all thoſe who have heard his prayers and preachments.* It was therefore in theſe preachments, and in publick, that he made *innumerable times*, theſe ſeditious prayers; after the example of thoſe of *Luther*, whereby, we have above obſerved, he knew ſo well how to animate mankind, and ſtir up executioners of his prophecies. By the like prayers the Duke of *Guiſe* was repreſented as a harden'd perſecutor, from whom it was neceſſary to beſeech God that he would deliver the world by ſome extraordinary ſtroke of his Providence. What *Beza* ſays in his own excuſe, *That he did not publickly name the* Duke *of Guiſe*, is much too fond. What ſignifies the naming a man when you know both how to point him out by his characters, and explain yourſelf in particular to thoſe who might ſufficiently have underſtood you? theſe myſterious innuendo's in ſermons and divine ſervice, are more likely to exaſperate mens minds, than more expreſs declarations. *Beza* was not the only one that inveigh'd moſt bitterly againſt the Duke; all the Miniſters railed in the ſame manner. No wonder then, that amongſt ſo many *men diſpoſed for execution*, with which the Party abounded, ſome ſhould be found that thought they did God ſervice

Thuan. lib. xxix. *p.* 77, 78. *l.* vi. 299.

Ibid.

vice in delivering the *Reformers* from ſuch an enemy. The ſtill blacker enterpriſe of *Amboiſe* had met with the approbation of *Beza* and their Doctors. This in the conjuncture of the ſiege of *Orleans* when the bulwark of the Party together with this City was juſt falling into the Duke's hands, was of a far different importance; and *Poltrot* believed he did more for his Religion than its Reformers. Accordingly, he talk'd openly of his deſign as of a thing that would be well approved of. Altho' he was known in the Party for a man ſworn to kill the Duke of *Guiſe* coſt what it would; neither the Generals, nor the Soldiers, nor even the Paſtors diſſuaded him from it. Believe who pleaſes what *Beza* ſays, that theſe words were taken [illegible] perſon, that would never have executed his deſign had he [illegible] it. For the more ſincere [illegible] in the Party, he would [illegible] he ſays, [illegible] very certain, that [illegible] that was [illegible] was, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in *France* [illegible] Duke of *Guiſe* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] him [illegible] him [illegible]

of it by other means. So faint a reply, in an action which ought not to be spoken of without horror, must have discover'd to *Poltrot*, in *Soubizes* mind, either the apprehension that the thing would not be executed successfully, or the design of exculpating himself, rather than an express condemnation of it. The rest of the chiefs spoke to him with no less indifferency: they were satisfied with telling him, *He ought to be aware of extraordinary vexations.* This, instead of dissuasion, was working up a belief in him that his enterprise had something in it of heavenly and inspired; and as *d'Aubigné* expresses it in his animated stile, *Their remonstrances, under the appearance of dissuading, really egg'd him on.* Accordingly, he was but the more determin'd on his black undertaking: he spoke of it to every body; and, continues *Beza*, *had his mind so bent on it, as to make it the common topick of his discourse.* During the siege of *Rouen*, at which the King of *Navarre* was kill'd, this death being mention'd, *Poltrot, Fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his breast, ha!* says he, *this is not enough, a much greater victim must still be sacrificed.* When ask'd what it might be: he answer'd, *'Tis the great* Guise; *and at the same time, lifting up his right arm, This is the arm,* cry'd he, *that will do the deed, and put an end to our misfortunes.* The which he repeated often, and always with the like energy. All these discourses speak a man determin'd, scorning to conceal himself because persuaded he is doing a meritorious action: but what more discovers the disposition of the whole Party, is that of the *Admiral*, whom they set up to the whole world as a pattern of virtue and the glory of the *Reformation.* I shall not speak here of *Poltrot*'s evidence, accusing him and *Beza*, of having

D'Aub. l. 1. c. 1.

Thuan. l. 27.

having induced him to this design. Let us lay aside the testimony of a witness, who hath perchance too much varied to be credited on his own word: but the facts avert'd by *Beza* in his history can't be called in question, much less those that are contain'd in the declaration which the *Admiral* and he jointly, on the assassin's accusation, sent to the *Queen*. Thereby then it remains evident, that *Guise* dispatch'd *Poltrot* with a packet of letters to the *Admiral* when full near *Orleans* endeavouring to relieve the town: that it was with the *Admiral*'s consent that *Poltrot* went to the Duke of *Guise*'s camp, and making shew as if repentant of bearing arms against the *King*, surrender'd himself to him: that the *Admiral*, who otherwise could not be ignorant of a design made publick by *Poltrot*, learnt from his own mouth that he persisted in it still, since he owns that *Poltrot*, in departing on his enterprize, [illegible] *the Duke of Guise*: that the *Admiral* spoke not a word to put him by it; nay, on the contrary, tho' [illegible] of his design gave him at one time twenty crowns, and a hundred at another, to mount beast it well: in those days, a considerable supply. And [illegible] necessary both to facilitate his and [illegible] [illegible] Nothing [illegible] than what the [illegible] Hence, that when *Poltrot* murdered him, [illegible] the Duke of *Guise*, [illegible] was no need of [illegible] was so well [illegible] to the [illegible] accomplish [illegible] the *Admiral* [illegible] more to do than [illegible] place where he [illegible] exist. The *Admiral* not content to [illegible] authority, [illegible] money

Ibid. 291. 3[illegible]. *Beza*, p. 204 [illegible] & *seq.*

P. 2[illegible].

P. [illegible]

P. [illegible] 291.

to ſupport himſelf there, and for the ſupply of all neceſſaries for ſuch a deſign, not forgetting even that of a good horſe and furniture. What the *Admiral* alledged farther, that he ſent *Poltrot* into the camp only to gain intelligence, is manifeſtly nothing but a cloak to that deſign, which he would not own. As for the money, nothing is more weak than what the *Admiral* replies, *viz.* that he gave it *Poltrot*, *without ever ſpecifying to him the killing or not killing the Duke of* Guiſe. *Ibid.* *Ibid. 29.* But the reaſon he brings in his juſtification for not diſſuading him from ſo wicked an attempt, diſcovers the bottom of his heart. He confeſſes then, that *before theſe laſt troubles, he knew the men who had determined to kill the Duke of* Guiſe; *that far from inducing them to this deſign, or approving it, he had diverted them from it*, and even given notice of it to *Madam de Guiſe:* that, *ſince the affair of* Vaſſi, he had proſecuted the Duke as a publick enemy; *nevertheleſs it cannot be diſcover'd, that he* HAD APPROVED *any attempt ſhould be made on his perſon, till he had notice given him that the Duke had drawn in certain perſons to kill him and the Prince of* Condé. It follows therefore, that after this notice given (as to the truth whereof we ought not to believe an enemy on his bare word) *he did approve* attempting on the Duke's life: but, *ſince that time, he acknowledges, when he heard one ſay, if he could, he would kill the Duke of* Guiſe *even in his camp, he did not diſſuade him from it:* whereby is ſeen at once, that this bloody deſign was common in the *Reformation*, and that the chiefs of it the moſt eſteem'd for their virtue, ſuch was undoubtedly the *Admiral*, did not think themſelves under any obligation of oppoſing it; on the contrary, they concurred to it every the moſt effectual way they

were able: so little did an assassination disturb their consciences, provided *Religion* were its motive.

LV. Sequel. p. [illegible]

Should it be ask'd, what could induce the *Admiral* to confess facts which bore so hard upon him? it was not from his ignorance of the difficulties he incurr'd: but, says *Bezza*, *the Admiral being downright and truly sincere, if any man of his quality ever was, made answer, that if afterwards, upon confronting, he should happen to make some further Confession, he might give occasion to think, that even then he did not discover the whole truth*; that is, if rightly understood, this *sincere and downright* man fear'd the force of truth at confronting, and prepared his subterfuges, as is usual to guilty persons, whose conscience, and fear of being convicted, makes them often confess more than could be drawn from witnesses. Nay it seems, if the manner of the *Admiral*'s explaining himself be well consider'd, that he fear'd men should think him innocent, that he shunn'd only the formal acknowledgment of a judicial conviction, and, what is more, took pleasure in displaying his revenge. But the most politick thing he did for his acquittal was declaring that *Poltrot* might be kept to be confronted with him, relying on his alleged excuses and the conjuncture of the times, which forbad driving to extremities the Chief of so formidable a Party. Nor was the Court ignorant of this, and [illegible] the process was concluded. *Poltrot*, who had [illegible] to be hanged, [illegible] against the *Admiral* and others, persisted in acquitting [illegible] even to [illegible] for the *Admiral*, he [illegible] peach'd him aloud by three declarations one after another even amidst the torments of his punishment, of [illegible] to perpetrate the murder *for God's service*. [illegible], it does not appear,

appear, that he had any ſhare in this action otherwiſe, than by his ſeditious preachments, and the approbation he had given of the much more criminal conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*: but very certain it is, that before the fact was committed, he did nothing to prevent it, altho' he could not be ignorant of the deſign, and, when it was over, omitted nothing that might give it all the appearance of an inſpired action. The reader may judge of the reſt, and here is more than ſufficient to make it evident, what ſpirit thoſe were animated with, who thus boaſt their meekneſs.

There is no need here of explaining myſelf on that queſtion, whether or no Chriſtian Princes have a right to uſe the ſword againſt their ſubjects enemies to ſound doctrine and the Church, the *Proteſtants* being agreed with us in this point. *Luther* and *Calvin* have wrote books expreſly to make good the right and duty of the *Magiſtrate* in this point. *Calvin* reduced this to practice againſt *Servet*, and *Valentine Gentili*. *Melancthon* approved of this procedure by a letter he wrote to him on this ſubject. The diſcipline of our *Reformed* likewiſe permits recourſe to the ſecular arm in certain caſes; and amongſt the articles of *diſcipline* of the *Geneva* Church, it appears that the Miniſters ought to inform the Magiſtrate againſt the incorrigible, who deſpiſe ſpiritual penalties, and eſpecially againſt thoſe, without diſtinction, who teach new doctrine. And even at this day, the author that moſt bitterly of all the *Calviniſt* writers upbraids the *Roman* Church on this ſubject, with the cruelty of her Doctrine, ſubſcribes to it in the main, ſeeing he permits the exerciſe of the power of the ſword in matters of Religion and Conſcience: a thing which in truth cannot be call'd in queſtion

LVI *Catholicks and Proteſtants* agreed on the queſtion of puniſhing Heretick. *Luth. de Magiſt. T. III. Calvin. Inſt. p. 592. Ibid. 659. Melanc. Calvin Epiſt. Calv. Epiſt. p. 16[illegible] Jur[illegible] T. III. [illegible]*

without enervating, and as it were maiming the power of the Legislature: so that there can't be a more dangerous illusion, than to fix suffering for a characteristick of the true Church; nor do I know amongst Christians any but *Socinians* and *Anabaptists* that oppose this Doctrine. In a word, the right is certain, but moderation is not less necessary.

LVII. *Calvin's death.*

Calvin died at the beginning of these troubles: 'tis a weakness to look for something extraordinary in the death of such sort of men; God does not always exhibit such examples. Since he permits Heretics for the trial of his Elect, we ought not to wonder, that, to compleat this trial, he suffers the spirit of seduction, with all the fine appearances wherewith it decks itself out, to predominate in them even to the end; and without further informing myself about *Calvin*'s life and death, 'tis enough, that he kindled a flame in his country which the effusion of so much blood could not extinguish, and is gone to appear before God's judgment-seat without the least remorse for so great a crime.

LVIII. *New Confessions of Faith of the Heretics of Geneva.*

His death made no alteration in the affairs of the Party; but the instability natural to new sects was always furnishing the world with some new spectacle, and *Confessions* of *Faith* were [illegible] at their usual rate. In *Switzerland*, the determinations of the *Helvetian* state, far from being tainted with [illegible] of *Faith* made in *France* and [illegible] exposition of their doctrine, were [illegible] with those that were made amongst [illegible] troubles. We have [illegible] *Zurich* [illegible] *Basil* [illegible] of the three Leagues [illegible] consent [illegible] and [illegible] of these *Confessions* of *Faith* [illegible] by [illegible]

divers acts, were not deem'd sufficient; and it was necessary to proceed to a fifth in 1566.

Synt. Gen. 1. part. p. 1.

LIX. The Ministers frivolous reasons for this new *Confession* of *Faith*. *Ibid. init. Præfat.*

The Ministers, who publish'd it, were very sensible that these alterations, in a thing of that importance, and which ought to be so firm and dilucid as a *Confession* of *Faith*, discredited their Religion. For which reason, they set forth a Preface, wherein they strive to account for this last change; and here is the whole of their defence: *viz. Altho' many nations have already publish'd different Confessions of Faith, and they themselves have also done the same thing by publick writings; nevertheless, they also propose this* (reader observe) *because those writings may perchance have been forgotten, or be spread in divers places, and explain the thing so much at large that all the world have not time to read them.* Yet it is visible, that these two first *Confessions* of *Faith*, which the *Swiss* had publish'd, scarce take up five leaves; and another, which might be tackt to them, is much about the same length; whereas, this last mention'd which ought to be the shortest has more than sixty. And allowing their other *Confessions* of *Faith* had been forgotten, nothing was more easy than to publish them anew, were they contented with them; so that there was no necessity of publishing a fourth, but because they found themselves obliged to it for a reason they durst not utter; which was the variety of new sentiments continually rising in their minds; and as they were not to own their daily loading their *Confessions* with such novel fancies, they cloak their changes with such frivolous pretexts.

LX. Imputed justice begins but then to be known

We have seen that *Zuinglius* was an Apostle and *Reformer*, without so much as knowing what was that Grace by which we are Christians; and he who saved even *Philosophers* by virtue of

amongst the *Saxon* Clergy. 1532. *Art.* IX. *Sup. Gra.* 1538. 1536. *Art.* 2. 3. *Ibid. p.* 72. *Confess. part* III. *Cap.* 1. *Gen.* 1551. *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 3. 1. *Ibid. p.* 29.

their morality, was an entire stranger to *imputed* Justice. Accordingly, nothing appear'd of it in the *Confessions* of *Faith* of 1532, and 1536. Grace was acknowledged there in such a manner as Catholicks might have approved, had it been less indefinite; and nothing was to much as mention'd in them against the merit of works. In the convention made with *Calvin* in 1551, it appears that *Calvinism* began to gain ground; and accordingly *imputed* Justice then shews itself. they had been reform'd near upon forty years without knowing this *fundamental* article of the *Reformation*. The thing was not thoroughly explain'd till in 1563, and it was by such a gradation, that from *Zanchius*'s excesses they pass'd insensibly to those of *Calvin*.

LXI. *The Protestants of Saxony reject the merit of good works.*

In the chapter concerning good-works they speak of them in the same style they other *Protestants* do, as the necessary fruits of Faith, and reject *their merit*, whereof, we have seen, not a word was said in the precedent *Confession*. To condemn them, they here make use of a saying often inculcated by St. *Austin*, but wrong quoted; for, whereas St. *Austin* says, and incessantly repeats, that God *crowns his gifts in us, not our merits*, they make him say, *He crowns our merits, not our merit, but his own*. The difference of the two expressions is [illegible] perceived, one of which gives the [illegible] to God, the other ingrosses them. [illegible] they had a mind to [illegible] all this [illegible] opposed to God, the contradiction [illegible] *He* [illegible] *our merits*, [illegible] In this case, [illegible] that of the *Protestants* [illegible] to merit, which [illegible] contrary to grace, [illegible] L.

In the tenth Chapter, true Faith is attributed to the ſole predeſtinated by theſe words: *Every man muſt hold it for unqueſtionable, that if he believes, and abides in Jeſus Chriſt, he is predeſtinated.* And a little further on: *If we communicate with Jeſus Chriſt, and he belong to us, and we to him, by true Faith, this is to us a ſufficiently clear and ſure teſtimony that we are written in the book of life.* Hence it is plain, that true Faith, namely juſtifying Faith, appertains only to the Elect; that this Faith and this Juſtice can never be loſt finally; and that temporary Faith is not the true juſtifying Faith. Theſe ſame words ſeem to conclude for the abſolute certainty of *Predeſtination*; for altho' they make it depend on Faith, 'tis a Doctrine received amongſt the whole *Proteſtant* Party, that a believer, in that he ſays, *I believe*, feels in himſelf the true Faith. But herein they are inſenſible of the ſeduction of our ſelf-love, of the mixture of our paſſions ſo ſtrangely complicated, that our own diſpoſitions, and the true motives we are acted by, are often what we, of all things, know with the leaſt degree of certainty; ſo that, in ſaying with that diſconſolate father in the Goſpel, *I believe*, how greatly ſoever we may think ourſelves moved, tho' we ſhould cry out lamentably as he did, and with a flood of tears; we ought nevertheleis to ſubjoin with him, *Lord, help thou mine unbelief*, and ſhew by that means, that ſaying, *I believe*, is rather an effort in us to produce ſo great an act, than an abſolute certainty of our having produced it.

LXII. Faith appropriated to the Elect. Certainty of ſalvation. Inamiſſibility of juſtice. *Cap. x. p.* 15.

Mark. ix. 24.

How prolix ſoever be the diſcourſe, which the *Zuinglians* make on *Free-will* in the ninth chapter of their *Confeſſion*, this little is all that's material in it. Three ſtates of man are well diſtinguiſh'd: that of his firſt inſtitution, wherein

LXIII. Concerning Free-will explain'd. *Cap. ix. p.* 12.

he had the power of inclining to good, and declining from evil; that of his fall, when unable to do good, he yet is *free to evil*, because he *embrac's it voluntarily, and by consequence with liberty*, altho' God frequently prevents the effect of his choice, and hinders him from accomplishing his evil purposes; and that of his regeneration, when, re-inflated by the Holy Ghost *in the power of voluntarily doing good, he is free*, yet not fully, on account of the infirmity of concupiscence remaining in him: *acting, nevertheless, not passively*; these are their terms: odd enough, I own, for what is it to act *passively*? and how is it possible such an idea should enter any man's head? however, this manner of speech pleased our *Zuinglians*. *Acting* (they continue to speak of man regenerated) *not passively, but actively, in the choice of good, and in the operation by which he accomplishes it.* How much was this short of a clear and full explanation! they ought to have join'd to these three state, that of man betwixt *corruption* and *regeneration*, when touch'd with Grace, he begins to bring forth the fruit of salvation amidst the pangs of repentance. This state is not that of *corruption* in which he wills nought but evil, since he begins, in this state, to will good; and if the *Zuinglians* would not consider it as a state, it being rather a passage from one state to another, they ought to explain at least in some other place, that, in this passage and previously to regeneration, the effort man makes tho' Grace to convert himself, is not an evil. Our *Remonstrants* are silent as to these necessary precautions: they ought also to have explain'd, whether, in this passage, man is drawn towards good by Grace, or can fall back and stop, whether, in the state of corruption, we do evil by our own free-

ſelves as not to be able even to abſtain from one evil rather than another; and laſtly, whether in the ſtate of regeneration, working good thro' Grace, we be ſo forcibly attracted to it, as not to have it then in our power to decline to evil. All theſe things were neceſſary to give a right underſtanding of the operation, and even notion of Free-will, which theſe Doctors leave confuſed by terms too indefinite and equivocal.

LXIV. Monſtrou Doctrine on Free-will.

But what ends the chapter diſplays ſtill better the perplexity of their thoughts. *We doubt not*, ſay they, *that men regenerate, or not regenerate, have equally their free will in common actions, becauſe man, being not inferior to beaſts, hath that in common with them, to will certain things, reject others: thus he may ſpeak or hold his tongue, go out of doors, or remain within.* Strange Doctrine! to make us free like beaſts! they have not a more elevated idea of man's liberty, having ſaid a little before, that by *his fall he is not altogether changed into a log or ſtone*; which is as much as to ſay he wants but little of it. However that may be, the *Swiſs Zuinglians* aim no higher; nay, the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* grovel ſtill lower, when they ſay, that in man's converſion, to-wit, in the moſt noble action he is capable of, in the action by which he unites himſelf with his God; he acts no more than a *ſtone* or *log*, tho' he acts differently on other occaſions. How doſt thou debaſe thyſelf, O man, thus meanly accounting for thy free-will! But infine, ſince man is not a *log*, and, in ordinary actions, his Free-will is made to conſiſt in being able to do certain things, or not to do them; it ought to be conſider'd, that, not finding in ourſelves a different manner of acting in natural actions than we do in others, this ſame liberty accompanies us throughout; and that God knows how

P. 12. 13.

Concord. p. 662. §. 5. *S. Lib.* viii. *n.* 48.

how to preferve it, even when he elevates us by his Grace to actions fupernatural; it being unworthy of his holy Spirit to make us act any more in thefe than in others, like to brutes, or rather, like *ftocks and ftones*.

LXV. Our Confeffors are more fparing in their explanations, and why.

It may perhaps feem ftrange, that we fpoke nothing of any of thefe matters in treating on the *Confeffion* of the *Calvinift*. But the reafon is, they themfelves paffs them all in filence, nor think it worth their while to fpeak of the manner in which man acts, as it it were a thing indifferent to man himfelf, or did not appertain to Faith to know, in point of liberty, together with one of the moft beautiful lineaments God has traced in man to make him *in his own Image*, that very thing which renders us worthy of blame or praife before God and man.

LXVI. The Supper with out fpecifying the Perfons of its nature.

The article of the Supper ftill remains, in which the *Sects* will fhew themfelves more fincere than ever. Thofe indeterminate phrafes, which we have feen them employ once only in 1536, by *Bucer*'s advice, and in condefcenfion to the *Lutheran*, are no longer fatisfactory to them. Even *Calvin*, their very good friend, cannot bring them over to the *proper Sofitions*, nor the incomprehenfible miracles, whereby the Holy Ghoft, notwithftanding the diftance of place, makes us partakers of it. They fay therefore, that Jefus *Hath ordained*, not an *immediate communion*, but the *true Body*, *the true Blood of our Lord Jefus Chrift*, *fpiritually*, *fpiritually*, *by Faith*, the Body and Blood of our Lord, *fur fumed by the Holy Ghoft*, *who gives and fpiritually exhibits the Body and Blood of our Lord Jefus Chrift unto us*, *nourifh*, *quicken*, *ftrengthen*, *comfort*, *and eternal*. Thus then what is exhibited in the Sacrament. They fay received

indeed, is the forgiveneſs of ſins, and ſpiritual life; and if the Body and Blood are alſo received, 'tis by their benefit and effect; or, as is afterwards ſubjoin'd, *by their figure, by their commemoration*, and not by their ſubſtance. For which reaſon, after having ſaid, *That the Body of our Lord is no where but in Heaven where he ought to be adored, and not under the ſpecies of Bread:* in order to explain the manner in which he is preſent, *He is not*, ſay they, *abſent from the Supper. Tho' the Sun be in Heaven abſent from us, he is preſent to us efficaciouſly*, that is, preſent by his virtue. *How much more is Jeſus Chriſt preſent to us by his vivifical operation?* who does not perceive that what is preſent to us only by its virtue, hath no need of communicating its proper ſubſtance? theſe two ideas are incompatible, nor hath any man ever ſaid ſeriouſly, he receives the proper ſubſtance of the Sun and Stars, under pretext that he receives their influences. Thus *Zuinglians* and *Calviniſts*, who of all, that have ſeparated from *Rome*, brag moſt of being united among themſelves, nevertheleſs reform each other in their ſeveral *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, and never could agree in one common and ſimple explanation of their Doctrine. P. 50.

LXVII. Nothing particular in the Supper.

True it is, that of the *Zuinglians* leaves nothing peculiar to the Supper. The Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is no more there than in any other actions of a Chriſtian; and 'twas in vain that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid in the Supper only, with ſo much energy, *This is my Body*; ſince with theſe powerful words he was able to work nothing in it that is ſingular. This is the inevitable weak ſide of the *figurative* ſenſe, which the *Zuinglians* were well aware of, and own'd ſincerely: *This ſpiritual nouriſhment is taken*, ſay they, *out of the Supper; and how often ſoever a perſon believes, this*

this Believer hath already received and enjoyeth this feed of everlasting life; but, for the same reason, when he receives the Sacrament, that which he receiveth, is not nothing: non nihil accipit. What is our *Lord*'s Supper reduced to? all they can say for it is, that what you receive in it, *is next to quite nothing. For*, proceed our *Zuinglians*, *we continue there to partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord*: so the Supper hath nothing singular in it. *Faith is stirr'd up, increases, is nourish'd with some spiritual food: for as long as we live, it receives a continual increase.* It receives therefore as much of all this out of the *Supper* as in the *Supper*, nor is *Jesus Christ* a whit more there than any where else. In this manner, after saying, that the particular thing received in the Supper, is not a meer nothing, and in fact reducing it to so small a matter; they are not yet able to tell us, what is that little they have left in it. Here is a great *vacuum*, I must own: 'twas in order to supply this emptiness that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* invented their big swelling words. They thought to fill up this frightful chasm by saying in their Catechism, that out of the Supper, *Jesus Christ* is received *in part only*, whereas, in the Supper, he's received fully. But to what purpose promising such great matters when you mean nothing by them? I like far better the sincerity of *Zuinglius* and the *Socin*, who own the scantiness of their Supper, than the false plenty of our *Calvinists*, in nothing sumptuous but in words.

XVIII. Thus much am I then obliged to say in behalf of the *Zuinglians*, that their *Confession* of *Faith* is of all the most natural and simple; and this not only with reference to the Eucharistick point, but in regard to all the others; in a word,

of

of all the Proteſtant *Confeſſions* of *Faith*, that of 1566, with all its defects, ſpeaks the moſt clearly what it means to ſpeak.

LXIX. Remarkable Confeſſion of the *Polonian Zuinglians*, in which the *Lutherans* are roughly handled.

Amongſt the *Poliſh* ſeparatiſts from the Church of *Rome*, there were ſome that maintain'd the *figurative* ſenſe, and theſe had ſubſcrib'd in 1567, the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, which the *Swiſs* had drawn up the year before. They reſted content with it for three whole years: but in 1570, they thought it reaſonable to frame another in a Synod held at *Czenger* which is to be met with in the collection of *Geneva*, in which they particularly ſignalize themſelves on the Supper-article.

M D L X X. *Synod. Czen. Synt. Conf. part. 1. p.* 148. *Cap. de Cœn. Dom. p.* 155.

They condemn the *Reality*, as well *in reſpect to the delirium* of *Catholicks*, who ſay the Bread is changed into the Body, as *in reſpect to the folly* of the *Lutherans*, who place the Body with the Bread: they declare particularly againſt the latter, that the *Reality*, which they admit, cannot ſubſiſt without a change of *ſubſtance*, ſuch as happen'd in the waters of *Egypt*, in the wand of *Moſes*, and in the water at the nuptial feaſt of *Cana*: thus they clearly own that *Tranſubſtantiation* is neceſſary, even by the principles of the *Lutherans*. They hold them in ſuch abhorrence, as to vouchſafe them no other appellation than that of *eaters of human fleſh*, aſcribing every where to them *a carnal and bloody* manner of communicating, as if they eat raw fleſh. After condemning the *Papiſts* and the *Lutherans*, they ſpeak of others under error, whom they call *Sacramentarians*. *We reject*, ſay they, *the phrenſy of thoſe who believe that the Supper is an empty ſign of our abſent Lord.* By theſe words they aim at the *Socinians*, as introducers of an empty Supper, tho' unable to ſhew that their own is better furniſh'd, nothing at all being to be found in either of them, with reſpect to the Body and the Blood,

Cap. de Sacramentis p. 155.

but

Ibid. p. 153. 154. *Cap. de Præt. in Cœna. p.* 155.

but *signs, commemoration, and virtue.* To place some difference betwixt the *Zwinglian* and *Socinian* Supper, they say *in the first place, that the Supper* is not *the sole memorial of Jesus Christ absent*, and make an express chapter concerning the Presence of *Jesus Christ* in this mystery. But endeavouring to expound it, they confound themselves with terms that are not of any language, words so uncouth and barbarous, as not to be translated. *Jesus Christ*, say they, is present in the Supper both as God and man: as God, *Ensior, præsentior*; render these words who can: *by his Celestial divinity*, that is, in common speech, by his divinity properly so call'd, and express'd by the incommunicable name, *Is the cause in its kinds, and the head in its members.* All this is true, but nothing to the Supper, where the question relates to the Body and Blood. They proceed therefore to say, that *Jesus Christ* is present as man in four ways. *In* [illegible], say they, *he is with the bread, [illegible] to the* [illegible] *way*, [illegible] *communicating* [illegible] *and the* [illegible] [illegible] *man*, [illegible] *by the power of the Holy Ghost.* They add, he is not present *corporally*, [illegible] *requisite* [illegible] *should be no* [illegible] *in* [illegible] *cœna*, [illegible]

[illegible] *these* [illegible] *four ways of Presence* are well [illegible] *among* [illegible] *the* [illegible] *the* [illegible] But we must [illegible] to make [illegible] *Christ*, [illegible] *their sacraments?* [illegible] *Pa-*

of their communion do, that *Jesus Christ is present as man, in the Supper, by his union with the Word, because the Word is every where present?* This is the reasoning of *Ubiquitarians*, who attribute to *Jesus Christ* an Omnipresence as to place, even according to his human nature: but this extravagance of the *Ubiquitarians* is no where maintain'd but amongst the *Lutherans*. The *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists* reject it equally with the *Catholicks*. Yet this notion is borrow'd by the *Polish Zuinglians*, who, not fully satisfied with the *Zuinglian* Confession which they had subscribed, tack to it this new *Dogma*.

LXXI. Their agreement with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*.

They did more, and that very year united themselves with the *Lutherans*, whom they had but just condemn'd *as gross and carnal men*, as men who taught *a cruel and bloody* communion. They sued for their communion, and those *eaters of human flesh* became their brethren. The *Vaudois* enter'd into this agreement, and all, assembled together at *Sendomir*, subscribed what had been defined concerning the Supper-article in the *Confession* of Faith call'd *Saxonick*.

But for the better understanding of this triple union betwixt the *Zuinglians*, *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, it will be necessary to know who these *Vaudois* were, who then appear'd in *Poland*. It may not be amiss to know moreover, what were the *Vaudois* in general, they being at last turn'd *Calvinists*; and many *Protestants* doing them so much honour as to assert even that the Church, persecuted by the *Pope*, preserved her succession in this Society: so gross and manifest a delusion, that I must strive once for all to cure them of it.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

VARIATIONS

Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XI.

A short History of the ALBIGENSES, the VAUDOIS, the WICKLIFFISTS, and HUSSITES.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

A short History of the Albigenses *and* Vaudois. *That they are two different sects. The* Albigenses *are complex* Manichees. *Their rise explained. The* Paulicians *are a branch of the* Manichees *in* Armenia, *whence they fled to* Bulgaria, *thence into* Italy *and* Germany, *where they were called* Cathari, *and into* France, *where they got the name of* Albigenses. *Their principles, and how they were disguised. Their* Protestants *in* [illegible] *time. The* [illegible] *of* Bernard. *Their* [illegible] *of the* Vaudois. *The* [illegible] *of* Berengarius. *Their* [illegible] *Transubstantiation.*

The

The seven Sacraments acknowledged by them. Confession and sacramental Absolution. Their error, a kind of Donatism. *They make the Sacraments depend on the holiness of their Ministers, and allow the administration of them to prous lay-men. Origin of the Sect call'd the Brethren of* Bohemia. *That they are not* Vaudois, *which origin they contemn: nor the disciples of* John Huss, *tho' they brag of it. Their deputies sent over all the World to seek for Christians of their belief, without being able to find any.* Wickliff's *impious Doctrine.* John Huss, *who glories in being his disciple, abandons him in regard of the Eucharist. The disciples of* John Huss *divided into* Taborites *and* Calixtins. *The confusion of all these Sects. The* Protestants *can draw from thence no advantage for the establishment of their Mission, and succession of their Doctrine. The agreement of the* Lutherans, *of the* Bohemians, *and the* Zuinglians *in* Poland. *The divisions and reconciliations of sectaries make equally against them.*

IS incredible what pains our Reform'd have been at, in order to find themselves predecessors in all foregoing ages. In the fourth age, of all the most illustrious, tho' none could be found but *Vigilantius* alone, that opposed the honour paid to Saints and the veneration of their relicks, he is look'd on by *Protestants* as the person who preserved the *Depositum*, namely, the succession of Apostolick doctrine, and is preferr'd to St. *Jerom* who has the whole Church on his side. For the same reason too *Aërius* ought to be consider'd as the

I. What is the succession of *Protestants*.

the only one whom God enlightned in the same century, for he alone rejected the sacrifice which every white-alte, in the *East* as well as the *West*, was offer'd for the relief of the Dead. But unluckily he was an *Arian*; and they were asham'd to count amongst the witnesses of the truth, a man that denied the Divinity of the Son of God. But I am amazed they stuck at that. *Claude* of *Turin* was an *Arian*, and the disciple of *Felix* of *Urgel*, that is, a *Nestorian* into the bargain. But because he broke *Images*, he finds place amongst the sore fathers of the *Protestants*. It matters not how far soever the rest of the *Iconoclasts*, as well as he, have outstretch'd this point, even to say, that God is head the arts of painting and sculpture; 'tis sufficient they tax'd the rest of Christians with idolatry to be enrolled amongst the first-rate witnesses of the truth. *Berengarius* impugn'd nothing but the *Real* Presence, leaving all the rest as he found it: but the rejecting of one only tenet, was sufficient to make him a *Calvinist*, and a Doctor of the true Church. *Wickliff* will be of that number, notwithstanding all the impieties we shall see he taught: tho' even, by affirming that Kings, Lords, Magistrates, Priests, Pastors, are no longer men from their falling into mortal sin, he has [illegible] subverted all order in the *Church* and *State*, and [illegible] with pride and sedition. *John Huss* [illegible] Disciple, and, what is more, [illegible] *Martin* to the rest of his life, and shared the *Martyrdom*, [illegible] standing against the Church of *Rome* [illegible] *Jerome* [illegible] Master [illegible] proved [illegible] the Pope, [illegible] well, and of what [illegible] to [illegible]

on the list of Proteſtant anceſtry, and are deem'd worthy to keep up the ſucceſſion of that Church.

But of all the predeceſſors the *Proteſtants* have made choice of, the moſt welcome to them, at leaſt to the *Calviniſts*, are the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*. What can be their aim in this? 'twere but a weak ſupport. To make their antiquity riſe ſome ages higher (for the *Vaudois*, allowing them all they deſire, and *Peter de Bruis* with his diſciple *Henry*, reach no farther than the eleventh age;) and there to ſtop ſhort unable to ſhew one before them, is being forced to a ſtand much beneath the time of the Apoſtles; 'tis calling for help from men as weak and as much put to it as themſelves; who, alike with them, are challenged to ſhew their predeceſſors; who, no more than they, are able to produce them; who by conſequence, are guilty of the ſame crime of innovation they are accuſed of: ſo that naming them in this cauſe, is naming accomplices of the ſame crime, not witneſſes that may lawfully depoſe in their defence.

II. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes* weak ſupport to *Calviniſts*.

Nevertheleſs, this ſupport, ſuch as it is, is eagerly embraced by our *Calviniſts*, and the reaſon is this. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, it ſeems, form'd Churches ſeparated from *Rome*, which *Berengarius* and *Wickliff* never did. Making them therefore their anceſtors, is giving themſelves, in ſome manner, a ſeries of Church-ſucceſſion. As the origin of theſe Churches, no leſs than the Faith they made profeſſion of, was as yet ſomewhat obſcure at the time of the pretended *Reformation*, the people were made believe, they were of a very ancient date, and ſprung from the firſt ages of Chriſtianity.

III. Why the *Calviniſts* lay a ſtreſs on them.

I wonder not that *Leger*, one of the *Vaudois Barbes* (for ſo they call'd their Paſtors) and their moſt celebrated Hiſtorian, hath given into this

IV. Ridiculous pretenſions of the *Vaudois*

and of *Beza*.

this error; for he was unquestionably the most bold and ignorant of all mankind. But there is cause to wonder, it was embraced by *Beza*, and that he hath written in his ecclesiastical History not only that the *Vaudois*, *time immemorial*, *had opposed the abuses of the Church of* Rome, but also, in the year 1541, *enter'd on record*, *by a publick and authentick act*, *the doctrine taught them as from father to son down from the year* 120, *after Christ's nativity*, *as their ancient predecessors always had inform'd them.*

L. 1. p. 35.
Ibid. 39.

V. Fable invented by the *Vaudois*.

Here is certainly a fine tradition, had it but the least proof to countenance it. But unfortunately, *Waldo*'s first disciples did not trace it up so high; and the remotest antiquity they challenged was of withdrawing from the Church of *Rome*, at the time when under Pope *Sylvester* I. she accepted the temporal domains that *Constantin* the first Christian Emperor endow'd her with. This is so frivolous a cause of rupture, and the pretension withal so ridiculous, as not to deserve refuting. A man must have lost his wits to persuade himself, that, ever since St. *Sylvester*'s time, that is, about the year 320, there was a sect amongst Christians, which the Fathers knew nothing of. We have in the Councils held in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, anathema's pronounced against an infinity of different sects: we have the catalogues of Heresies drawn by St. *Epiphanius*, by St. *Austin*, and several other Church authors. The most obscure and the least known sects, are those which appear'd in a corner of the world, as that of certain women call'd *Circumcelliones*, not to be met with but I know not where in *Africa*; that of the *Tertulianists* or *Africans* who were only in *Carthage*, or in some villages near *Hippo*, and many others equally obscure did not escape their knowledge.

Epiph. Haer. 53. *Aug. Haer.* 86. *Prædest.*

The

The zeal of Paſtors, that labour'd to bring back the ſtray'd ſheep, diſcover'd all to ſave all: none but theſe Separatiſts on account of eccleſiaſtical revenues, were unknown to every body. Theſe men more temperate than an *Athanaſius*, a *Baſil*, an *Ambroſe*, and all the other Doctors, more wiſe than all the Councils, who, without rejecting goods given to the Church, were contented with making rules for their juſt adminiſtrations; ſo well, I ſay, did theſe men play their part, as never to have been heard of by them. The aſſurance to aſſert this, was certainly the height of impudence in the firſt *Vaudois*. But, with *Beza*, to mount this ſect, unknown to all ages, up to the year of our Lord 120, is giving himſelf anceſtors and Church-ſucceſſion by too glaring an impoſition.

VI. The deſign of this eleventh book, and what is to be ſhewn therein.

The *Reformed*, diſguſted at their novelty, which they were continually upbraided with, ſtood in need of this weak ſupport. But, in order to draw ſome advantage from it, it was alſo requiſite to ſet other artifices on foot: it was requiſite to conceal carefully the true ſtate of theſe *Albigenſes* and *Vaudois*. Of two quite different ſects they made but one; and this, leſt the *Reformed* ſhould eſpy amongſt their anceſtors a too manifeſt contrariety. But above all, their abominable Doctrine was kept a ſecret: no notice taken that theſe *Albigenſes* were compleat *Manicheans*, no leſs than *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* his diſciple: not a word, that theſe *Vaudois* had ſeparated from the Church upon grounds equally deteſted by the new *Reformation* and by the Church of *Rome*: the ſame diſſimulation was uſed in regard of the *Poliſh Vaudois*, but nominally ſuch; and the people kept ignorant that their Doctrine was neither that of the ancient *Vaudois*, nor that of the *Calviniſts*, nor that of

the *Lutherans*. The history I am going to furnish of these three sects, altho' epitomiz'd, will be nevertheless supported with such pregnant proofs, as to make the *Curiosis* ashamed of the ancestors, they have made choice of.

The History of the new MANICHEANS, *call'd the Heretick of* TOULOUSE *and* ABBY.

VII. Force of the *Manichean* principle on the *Mind*.

IN order to apprehend what follows, you must not be wholly ignorant, what these *Manicheans* were. Their whole Theology turn'd on the question of the origin of evil: they beheld it in the world, and were for discovering its principle. It could not be God, because he is infinitely good. It was therefore necessary, said they, to acknowledge another principle, which being evil by its nature, might be the cause and origin of evil. Here then is the foundation of the error: two first principles, one of good, the other of evil; enemies, by consequence, and of a contrary nature; which having fought and mix'd in the strife, one diffusing good on the world, the other evil; one light, the other darkness, and so on: for it's impossible to relate here all the [illegible] extravagances of this abominable Sect. It sprung from *Persia*, and its principle [illegible] by [illegible] evil [illegible] brought amongst the *Pagans*. *Persia* [illegible] with the enemies they gave to the [illegible] came. [illegible] this prodigy into the Church [illegible] to-wards the [illegible] century. [illegible] had [illegible] and [illegible] evil [illegible] had [illegible] the way to the [illegible] and damnation. [illegible] gained [illegible].

New

Now the consequences, these Hereticks drew from this Doctrine, were no less absurd than impious. The *Old Testament* with all its severity was but a fable, or at best, but the product of the evil principle: the mystery of the *Incarnation*, an illusion; and the Flesh of *Jesus Christ*, a phantom: for Flesh being the work of the evil principle, *Jesus Christ* the Son of the good God, could not in truth have vested himself with it. As our bodies came from the bad principle, and our souls from the good, or rather, were the very substance of it, it was not lawful to beget children, nor unite the substance of the good principle with that of the bad: so that marriage, or rather the generation of children, was prohibited. The flesh of animals, and every thing proceeding from it, as white meats, was the work of the evil cause; the same of wine: all these were impure by nature, and the use of them criminal. Here then are manifestly those men seduced by Devils, of whom St. *Paul* speaks, that were, *In latter times .... to forbid to marry*, and command *to abstain from meats*, as unclean, *which God hath created.*

VIII. Consequences of the *Manichean's* false principle.

1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

These wretches, who sought only to deceive the world by appearances, endeavour'd to justify themselves by the example of the *Catholick* Church, wherein the number of those that forbore marriage from the profession of continence, was very great, and abstinence from certain meats was either practised always, as by many *Anchorets* after *Daniel*'s example; or at particular times, as in *Lent*. But the holy Fathers replied, there was a great difference betwixt those that condemn'd the procreation of children, as the *Manicheans* did expressly, and those that preferr'd continence to it with St. *Paul* and *Jesus Christ* himself, and judg'd it unlawful for them to

IX. The *Manicheans* endeavour'd to justify themselves by the example of the Church.

[illegible] Tim. [illegible] 1. 5. 6. Dan. i. 8. 12.

26. 32. 34. 35. *Matt.* xix. 12. *Luke* ix. 62. 1 *Tim.* iv. 4.

to look back after making profession of so perfect a state of life. Besides, it was a different thing to abstain from certain meats, either to signify some mystery, as in the *Old Testament*, or to mortify the senses, as was still continued in the *New*: a different thing to condemn them with the *Manicheans*, as impure, as evil, as the work not of *God*, but of the bad principle. And the Fathers observed, that the Apostle expresly impugn'd this latter sense, which was that of the *Manicheans*, by these words: *Every creature of God is good.* And again by these: *nothing is to be refused* of all God has created; from thence concluding, that there was no wonder the *Holy Ghost* had warn'd the faithful so long before, by the mouth of St. *Paul*, against so great an abomination.

X. Three other characteristicks of the *Manichean* Heresy.

Such were the principal points of the *Manichean* doctrine. But this sect had besides two remarkable Characteristicks; one, that in the midst of these impious absurdities, which the Devil had inspired them with, they yet mix'd something in their discourses of so specious a nature, so prodigiously seducing, that St. *Austin* himself, so great a genius, was entangled thereby, and remain'd amongst 'em nine whole years, a great zealot of this Sect. 'Twas observed likewise, that this was one of those Heresies which it is most difficult to be reclaim'd from: for to impose upon the vulgar, it had something and always amuse delusions, [illegible] tax'd with sorcery; in a word, [illegible] of seduction were wanting to it.

[illegible] of the *Manichees* is, [illegible] which was most [illegible] with so powerful an artifice, that not only strangers, but even [illegible] of [illegible], pass'd a long time amongst them

in

in ignorance thereof. For beneath the colourable pretext of chastity they hid impurities not to be named, and which made part of their very mysteries. Amongst 'em were several degrees. Those, whom they call'd *Auditors*, knew not the bottom of the Sect; and their *Elect*, namely, those that were let into the whole Mystery, carefully kept close from their probationers the abominable secret, till they had been prepared for it by several gradations. They made a show of abstinence and the exterior of a life not only good, but mortified; and one part of the seduction was, the arriving as it were by stages to that which was believed the more perfect, because hidden.

XII. Third characteristick: mixing with the *Catholicks* in the Churches and concealing themselves. *Leo.* 1. *Serm.* 45. *qui est* iv. *de Quadr.* c. 5.

For the third Characteristick of these hereticks, we may further observe in them a surprising dexterity in mixing with the faithful, and concealing themselves under the appearance of the same profession; for this dissimulation was one of the artifices they employ'd to inveigle men into their sentiments. They were seen promiscuously with others in the Churches: there they received the Communion; and altho' they never received the Blood of our Lord, as well because they detested wine used in consecration, as also because they did not believe *Jesus Christ* had true Blood; the liberty allow'd in the Church of partaking of one or both kinds, was the cause that, for a long time, the perpetual affectation of their rejecting that of wine, pass'd unperceived. At length St. *Leo* discover'd them by this mark: but their cunning to elude the notice of the Catholicks, tho' diligent, was so great, that they still conceal'd themselves, and scarce were discover'd under the Pontificate of St. *Gelasius*. At that time therefore, in order to render them wholly distinguishable to the people, it was necessary

necessary to proceed to an express prohibition of communicating otherwise than under both kinds; and to shew that this prohibition was not founded on the inability of always taking them conjointly, St. *Gregory* grounds it in formal terms on this cause, for that those, who received the sacred wine, did it thro' *a certain superstition*: an evident proof, that, were it not for this superstition, which rejected one of the parts of this Mystery as evil, the usage in its nature had been free and indifferent, even in solemn assemblies. *Protestants*, that believed this word, *superstition*, was not strong enough to express the abominable practices of the *Manichean*, did not reflect that this word, in the Latin tongue, signifies all false Religion; but that it is particularly appropriated to the *Manichean* Sect, on account of their abstinences and superstitious observances: the books of St. *Austin* witness this sufficiently.

Greg. Ep. Pseudon. c. 15.

XIII. This so hidden a Sect, so abominable, so full of seduction, of superstition, and hypocrisy, notwithstanding imperial Laws which condemn'd its followers to death, yet maintain'd and diffused itself. The Emperor *Justinian* and the Empress *Theodora*, wife to *Justinian*, had given it countenance. The followers thereof are to be [illegible] the children of *Heraclius*, thus, in the beginning, an *Armenian* a Protestant born, [illegible] of the detestable superstitions [illegible] to the Empire. [illegible] to one [illegible] name of *Paulus* [illegible] *Paulicians*, by [illegible] named *Cathari* [illegible] named *Publicans*. [illegible] power to that country, [illegible] Government, on the protection [illegible] by the [illegible] of the Emperor [illegible] Wealth

to

to this Sect, that at length, being persecuted by the Empress *Theodora*, the Wife of *Basil*, they were able to build Cities, and take up arms against their Sovereigns. *Cedr. T. 11. p. 480. Ib. p. 541.*

XIV. History of the *Paulicians* by *Peter* of *Sicily*, addressed to the Archbishop of *Bulgaria*.

These wars were long and bloody under the reign of *Basil* the *Macedonian*, to-wit, at the close of the ninth contrary. *Peter* of *Sicily* was sent by this Emperor to *Tibrica* in *Armenia*, which *Cedrenus* calls *Tephrica*, a strong hold of these Hereticks, to treat about the exchange of prisoners. During this time he became thoroughly acquainted with the *Paulicians*, and dedicated a book concerning their errors to the Archbishop of *Bulgaria* for reasons hereafter specified. *Vossius* acknowledges, we are much obliged to *Raderus* for giving us, in *Greek* and *Latin*, so particular and so excellent a history. There *Peter* of *Sicily* paints out to us these Hereticks in their proper characters, their two principles, the contempt they had of the *Old Testament*, their prodigious address in concealing themselves when they pleased, and the other aforesaid tokens. But he remarks two or three worth our notice: *viz.* their particular aversion to the *Images* of Christ crucified, a natural consequence of their error, forasmuch as they rejected the Passion and Death of the Son of God; their contempt of the *Holy Virgin*, whom they did not account the Mother of *Jesus Christ*, since they denied his human Flesh; and above all, their abhorrence of the *Eucharist*. *Pet. Sic. Hist. de Manich. Cedr. Ib. 541. &c. Vos. de Hist. Græc. Pet. Sic. Ib. Præf. &c. Ibid. Ibid.*

XV. The sentiments of the *Paulicians* and *Manichees*, concerning the *Virgin* and *Eucharist*.

Cedrenus, who has taken the greatest part of what he writes of the *Paulicians* from this Historian, instances after him, these three characteristicks, namely, their aversion to the *Cross*, to the *blessed Virgin*, and the *holy Eucharist*. The same sentiments had the *Manichees* of old. We learn from St. *Austin*, their Eucharist was different.

Cedr. T. 11. p. 434. Aug. haer. 46. &c. Lib. xx Cont Faust. c. 4.

rent from ours, and something so execrable as not to be thought on, much less written. But the new *Manichean*s had also received, from the ancient, another Doctrine we are to observe. So long since as St. *Austin*'s time, *Faustus* the *Manichean* upbraided the *Catholick*s with their idolatry in the honour they pay'd the holy Martyrs, and in the sacrifices they offer'd on their Relicks. St. *Austin* remonstrated to them, this worship had nothing common with that of the Heathens, because it was not the worship of *Latria* or of subjection and perfect servitude; and if they offer'd to God the holy oblation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, *at* the tombs and *on* the relicks of the Martyrs, they were far from offering *to* them this sacrifice, but hoped only *To excite themselves thereby to the imitation of their virtues, to be brought into partnership with their merits, and lastly, to be assisted by their prayers.* So clear an answer did not prevent the new *Manicheans* from continuing the calumnies of their forefathers. *Peter* of *Sicily* acquaints us, that a *Manichean* woman seduced an ignorant lay man call'd *Sergius*, by telling him, Catholicks honour'd the Saints as *Divinities*, and for that reason *Lay-men* were hinder'd from reading the *Holy Scripture*, least they should discover a number of the like errors.

Feid. c. 21. & 1. Ibid. c. 18.

Petr. Sic. hist.

XXI. [illegible]

'Twas by such calumnies as these the *Manicheans* seduced the ignorant. A great desire of [illegible] was always remark'd amongst them. *Peter* of *Sicily* discover'd, whilst he lived at *Tarsus*, that it was resolved in the Council of the *Paulicians*, to send Preachers of their Sect into *Armenia*, in order to [illegible] new converts. [illegible] of the Province had been infected with this Heresy long before. So there was but too much reason to fear the

world

worſt for the *Bulgarians*, ſhould the *Paulicians*, the moſt cunning of the *Manichean* Sect, attempt to ſeduce them; and 'twas this induced *Peter* of *Sicily* to inſcribe the above-mention'd book to their Archbiſhop, to fore-arm them againſt ſuch dangerous Hereticks. Spite of all his pains, it is certain, the *Manichean* Hereſy took deep root in *Bulgaria*, and thence ſoon after ſpread itſelf over the other parts of *Europe*; whence came, as we ſhall ſee, the name of *Bulgarians*, given to the followers of this Hereſy.

XVII. The *Manicheans* begin to appear in the *Weſt* after the year of our Lord one thouſand. *Revel.* xx. 2. 3. 7. *Mat.* xii. 29. *Luke* xi. 21. 22. *Acta Conc. Aurel. ſpicil. T.* 11. *Conc. Lab. T.* ix. *Glab. lib.* III. *c.* 8.

A thouſand years had elapſed ſince the birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the prodigious relaxation of diſcipline threatn'd the *Weſtern* Church with ſome extraordinary diſaſter. Beſides, 'twas not unlikely the dreadful time when Satan was to be let looſe, foretold in the *Revelations*, *after a thouſand years*, which may denote a thouſand years after that *the ſtrong-arm'd*, to-wit, the victorious Satan, *was bound* by *Jeſus Chriſt* at his coming into the world. Howſoever that may be, *in* this time and in 1017, during King *Robert*'s reign, Hereticks were diſcover'd at *Orleans* of ſuch a Doctrine as long before had been unheard of amongſt the *Latins*.

XVIII. *Manicheans* that came from *Italy*, diſcover'd at *Orleans* in the time of King *Robert*.

An *Italian* woman brought into *France* this abominable Hereſy. Two Canons of *Orleans*, one call'd *Stephen* or *Heribert*, the other, *Liſoïus*, both men of reputation, were the firſt inveigled. There was great difficulty in diſcovering their ſecret. But at length, a perſon named *Ariſaſte* ſuſpecting what it might be, having inſinuated himſelf into their familiarity, theſe Hereticks and their followers confeſs'd, after a great deal of pains, that they denied the human Fleſh of *Jeſus Chriſt*; that they did not believe Remiſſion of ſins was given in *Baptiſm*, nor that the Bread and Wine could be changed into the

Body

Glab. Ibid. Acta. Conc. Eurel. Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*. It was discover'd, they had a particular *Eucharist*, by them call'd the Celestial Food. It was cruel and abominable, and wholly suitable to the *Manichean* genius, altho' not found amongst those of old. But besides what was seen at *Orleans*, *Guy* of *Nogent* also takes notice of it in other countries; nor is it to be wonder'd, new prodigies are to be met with in so close a Sect, whether invented by them, or but newly brought to light.

Dorand. sup. lib. III. c. 10.

XIX. Sequel. *De haer. in haer. Man. Pet. Sic. Ib. Cedr. T. 1 p. 434.* Here are the genuine Characteristicks of *Manichaeism*. We have seen these Hereticks reject the *Incarnation*. As for *Baptism*, St. *Austin* says expresly, the *Manicheans did not give it, and believed it useless*. *Peter* of *Sicily*, and after him *Cedrenus*, tells us the same of the *Paulicians*: all together depose, the *Manicheans* had a different Eucharist from ours. What was said by the Hereticks of *Orleans*, that we ought not to beg the Saints assistance, was also of the same stamp, and sprung, as is seen above, from the ancient fource of this Sect.

XX. Sequel. They [illegible] nothing openly of the two principles, but spoke with contempt of the Creation, and the [illegible] who received it, rejecting the *Old Testament*; and confess'd under excommunication, that they had entertain'd evil sentiments *concerning the [illegible] of the [illegible]*. The reader will remember, that [illegible] was judged the evil principle by the *Manichees*. They went to the stake with joy, in hopes of [illegible] delivered to the glory [illegible] they [illegible] Spirit. Now this was the [illegible] of the two principles.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ced. de haer. l. 5. It's known, [illegible] *Manichees* [illegible] judged [illegible] of the [illegible].

XXI. The same [illegible] in *Aquitaine* [illegible] in the year [illegible] by the [illegible]

history of *Ademarus* of *Chabanes* Monk of the Abbey of St. *Cibard* in *Angoulême*, contemporary with these Hereticks. An ancient writer of the history of *Aquitaine*, publish'd by the celebrated *Peter Pithou*, acquaints us, there were discover'd in this Province, whereof *Perigord* made part, *Manicheans that rejected Baptism, the sign of the holy Cross, the Church, and the Redeemer himself; denying his Incarnation, and Passion, and the honour due to Saints, lawful Marriage, and the use of meat.* And the same author shews us, they were of the same Sect with the Hereticks of *Orleans*, whose error came from *Italy*.

Gofroigny and at Toulouse. Bib. nov. L'Abb. T. 11. p. 176. 180.

Frag. Hist. Aquit. edita a Petro Pith. Par. T. xi. An. 1017.

In effect, we see the *Manicheans* had settled in that country. They were called *Cathari* as much as to say, pure. Formerly other Hereticks had assum'd that name, the *Novatians*, in the persuasion that their life was more pure, than that of others, on account of the severity of their discipline. But the *Manicheans* elated with their continency and abstinence from Flesh, which they believed unclean, accounted themselves not only *Cathari*, or pure, but also, as St. *Austin* relates, *Catharists*, namely purifiers, by reason of that part of the divine Substance, which was mix'd with the herbs and pulse together with the contrary Substance, from which in eating them, they separated and purified this divine Substance. These, I own, are monstrous opinions; and 'twere hardly to be believed, that men could have been so strangely infatuated, had not experience taught us that God sets, to man's proud mind, examples of the blindness he may fall into, when abandon'd to himself. This then is the true original of the Hereticks of *France*, sprung from the *Cathari* of *Italy*.

XXII. *The Manicheans of Italy call'd Cathari, and why.*

De Haer. ex Aug. Tract.

Vignier, whom our *Reformed* have accounted the Restorer of history in the last age, speaks of this

XXIII. Origin of the Mani-

nicheans of *Toulouse* and *Italy*. Proof that they came from *Bulgaria*. *Bib. Hist.* 2 *p.* in the year 1022 *p.* 602.

this Heresy, and the discovery thereof made in the Council of *Orleans*, whose date he places, by mistake, in 1022, and observes, that, *In this year many people were taken and burnt, for the crime of Heresy, in the presence of* King Robert; *for as it is written*, continues he, *that they spake ill of God and the Sacraments, to wit, of Baptism and the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as likewise of marriage*; nor would eat meats that had blood and fat, reputing them unclean. He reports, also that the chief of these Hereticks was call'd *Stephen*, whereof he cites *Glaber* for witness with the chronicle of St. *Cibard*; *according to whose testimony*, proceeds he, *many other followers of the same Heresy, call'd* Manicheans, *were executed elsewhere, as at* Toulouse *and in Italy*. No matter, tho' this author was mistaken in the date and some other circumstances of his history: he had not seen the acts which have been recover'd since that time. It's enough that this Heresy of *Orleans*, which had *Stephen* for one of its authors, whose enormities King *Robert* took vengeance of, and whose history *Glaber* hath reported, be acknowledged for *Manichean* by *Vignier*; that he held it for the source of that Heresy, which afterwards was propagated at *Toulouse*, and throughout this impiety, as we are going to see, was brought from *Bulgaria*.

XXIV. The same origin proved by an ancient Author quoted by *Vignier*. Author [illegible] *p.* [illegible]

An ancient author cited in the additions of the same *Vignier* leaves no room to doubt of it. The passage of this author, which *Vignier* translates, runs in *Latin*, reports, *[illegible]* B[illegible] *Lombardy*, [illegible] *Bulgaria*, [illegible] *Lombard*, [illegible] *Manichean* [illegible] *Pope*, named [illegible] Constantinople

Conſtantinople *into* Lombardy, *who impeach'd the ordination of* Bulgaria; and that *Mark* had received his from *Drungaria*.

XXV. Sequel of the ſame paſſage. *Ren. cont. Wald. c. 6. T. iv. Bibl. PP. part. 2. p. 759. Vignier. Ib.*

What country he meant by *Drungaria*, I have no need to examine. *Renier* thoroughly acquainted, as we ſhall ſee, with all theſe Hereſies, tells us of the *Manichean* Churches of *Dugranicia and* Bulgaria, *whence come all the reſt* of the Sect both in *Italy* and *France*; which perfectly well agrees, as is plain, with *Vignier*'s author. In this ſame *ancient author* of *Vignier* we ſee, that this Hereſy *brought from beyond ſea, to wit from* Bulgaria, *thence ſpread itſelf thro' other Provinces, where afterwards it was in great vogue, into* Languedoc, Toulouſe, *and eſpecially into* Gaſcony; *whence the name of* Albigenſes, *as for the like reaſon, that of* Bulgares *was conferr'd on the Sect*, on account of its origin. I ſhall not repeat what *Vignier* obſerves, how the name *Bulgare* was turn'd to its preſent ſignification in our language. The word is too infamous, but its derivation certain; nor leſs certain that the *Albigenſes* were call'd by this name in token of the place they came from, namely from *Bulgaria*.

XXVI. Council of *Tours* and *Toulouſe* againſt the *Manicheans* of this laſt City. *Conc. Tur. III. c. 3. Conc. Tol. An. 1119. Can. 3.*

There needs no more to convict theſe Hereticks of *Manicheiſm*. But in proceſs of time the evil grew more apparent, principally in *Languedoc* and *Toulouſe*, for this City was like the *Metropolis* of the Sect, *Whence the Hereſy extending itſelf*, as ſpeaks the Canon of *Alexander* III. in the Council of *Tours*, *like a cancer into the neighbouring countries, infected* Gaſcony *and the other Provinces*. As the ſource of the evil, as I may ſay, there took its riſe, there alſo the remedy was firſt applied. The Pope *Callixtus* II. held a Council at *Toulouſe*, where were condemn'd the Hereticks that *rejected the Sacrament of our Lord's*

Lord's Body and Blood, Infant-Baptism, the Priesthood, and all Ecclesiastick orders, with lawful marriage. The same Canon was repeated in the general Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* II. The character of *Manichæism* is here seen in the condemnation of Marriage. And again, in rejecting the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; for it ought to be taken good notice of that the *Canon* imports, not that these Heretick had some error touching the Sacrament, but *that they rejected it*, as we have seen the *Manichæans* did likewise.

Conc. Later. II. An. 1139. Can. 23.

XXVII. As for the Priesthood and all Ecclesiastick orders, the total subversion of the Hierarchy introduced by the *Manichæans*, and the contempt they had of all Church subordination, may be seen in St. *Augustin* and other authors. In respect of Infant-Baptism, we shall observe hereafter, that the new *Manichæans* impugn'd it with particular industry: and, altho' they rejected *Baptism* in general, what struck men with surprise was the [illegible] they made of this Sacrament to children, while the Church in general shew'd so much [illegible] to confirm on them. Therefore the [illegible] Christians whereby this *Heretick*, afterwards call'd *Apostate* Henry, made [illegible] known, was specified in this Canon of [illegible] and *Lateran*. The [illegible] [illegible] simply concealed. But the more [illegible] from *Lausanne* diffused [illegible] *Manichæan* tenets became the [illegible] propagated. They penetrated into the heart of [illegible] Emperor *Henry* IV. [illegible] covered [illegible] City of [illegible] towards the middle of the eleventh century, [illegible] [illegible] *Manichæan* property. These were well known by [illegible] *from the* [illegible]

Hom. [illegible] Ad Lauz. [illegible]

[illegible]

and believing their use prohibited. The error soon spread in *Germany* on all sides; and in the twelfth century, many of these Hereticks were met with near about *Cologn.* The name of *Cathari* made the Sect known, and *Ecbert* a cotemporary Author and able Divine shews us, in these *Cathari* near *Cologn*, all the *Manicheon* characters: the same detestation of Flesh and Marriage: the same contempt of *Baptism*: the same abhorrence of Communion: the same repugnance to believe the truth of the Son of God's *Incarnation* and *Passion:* in short, other the like marks which it's needless to repeat.

Ecb. Serm. 12. *adv. Cath.* T. IV. *Bib. PP. part.* 2.

But as Heresies change, or in time shew themselves plainer, so many new tenets and usages are perceptible in this. For instance, in explaining to us amongst the rest, the contempt the *Manicheans* had of Baptism, *Ecbert* acquaints us, that altho' they rejected the Baptism of Water, they gave, with lighted torches, a certain Baptism of Fire, whereof he sets forth the ceremony. They were obstinately bent against Infant-Baptism, which I observe again, it being one of the distinguishing marks of these new *Manicheans.* They had likewise another not less remarkable; their maintaining that the Sacraments lost their virtue by the bad life of those that administred them. Wherefore they exaggerated the corruption of the *Clergy*, in order to persuade that we had no longer any Sacraments amongst us; and this is one of the reasons for which we have seen they were accused of rejecting all Ecclesiastick Orders together with the Priesthood.

XXVIII. Sequel of *Ecbert's* sentiments concerning the *Manicheans* of *Germany.* *Serm.* 1. §. 11. *Ib. Serm.* 7. *Ibid. Serm.* 4. &c.

The belief of these new Hereticks, as to the two principles, was not as yet fully brought to light. For altho' men were very sensible, this was the foundation of their rejecting the union of both sexes, and whatever proceeded from it in

XXIX. *Ecbert* discovers what they held two first principles.

all animals, as flesh, eggs, and white meats, yet as far as I can find, *Ecbert* is the first that objects this error to them in express terms. Nay, he says, *he had most certainly discover'd*, that their private motive for abstaining from flesh was, *Because the devil was the creator of it.* You see how difficult it was to dive into the bottom of their Doctrine; yet it appear'd sufficiently by its consequences.

Ecb. Serm. 6. p. 99.

XXX. Marriage of these Heretics. *Serm. 5. p. 94.*

We learn from this same author, that these Hereticks shew'd themselves, at times, more moderate in regard to Marriage. One call'd *Hartuvinus* allow'd a youth amongst them to marry a maiden, but required they should be both Virgins, and not proceed beyond the first child; which I take notice of in order to shew the fantasticalness of a Sect contradictory to itself, and often forced to act counter to its own principles.

XXXI. Their industry to conceal themselves.

But the most certain token to know these Hereticks by, was the pains they took to conceal themselves, not only by receiving the Sacraments with us, but also by answering like us, when urg'd touching their Faith. This was the spirit of the Sect from its beginning, and we have before taken notice of it, even from the time of St. *Austin* and St. *Leo*. *Peter* of *Sicily*, and after him *Cantacuzenus*, shews us the same character of the *Paulicians*. They did not only deny in general, that they were *Manichees*, but also interrogated in particular concerning each tenet of their Faith, they feign'd themselves Catholicks, betraying their sentiments by marks of lies, or at least mitigating them by equivocations worse than lies, [illegible] more artful and subtle than ought with hypocrisy. For example, when spoken to concerning the Water of *Baptism*, they received it, understanding by the Water of *Baptism*, the

Petr. Sic. hist. de Hæres. Man.

Ibid. Cap. 2. p. 4.

Doctrine of our Lord, whereby souls are purified. All they say abounded with the like allegories, and men took them for orthodox, unless from long custom they had learnt to see through their delusive answers.

XXXII. Their equivocations when interrogated about Faith.

Ecbert informs us of one which it was impossible to guess at. It was known they rejected the *Eucharist*; and when, to sound them on so important an article, they were ask'd whether they *made* the Body of our Lord: they answer'd readily, they *made* it, understanding that *their own Body* which they *made* in some wise by their food, was *the Body of Jesus Christ*, by reason that, according to St. *Paul*, they were the members of it. By these artifices they appear'd outwardly good Catholicks. But, what is yet more unaccountable, one of their tenets was, that the Gospel forbad swearing for whatsoever cause: nevertheless, when examin'd concerning their Religion, they believed it lawful not only to lye, but to forswear themseves, and had learnt from the ancient *Priscillianists*, another branch of the *Manicheans* known in *Spain*, this verse cited by St. *Austin*; *Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli: Swear true or false, as long as thou betrayest not the secret of the Sect.* For which reason, *Ecbert* styl'd them *obscure men*, men that did not preach, but whisper'd in the ear, who lurk'd in corners, and mutter'd rather in private than explain'd their Doctrine. This was one of the Sect's allurements: there was something of a charm in this impenetrable Secret observed amongst them; and as the wise man said, *Those waters you drink by stealth are the pleasantest.* St. *Bernard*, who was well acquainted with these Hereticks, as we shall soon see, remarks in them this particular character, that, whereas other Hereticks, egg'd on by the spirit of pride, sought only to make themselves known;

Ecb. Serm. 1. 11.

Bern. in Cant. Serm. 65.

D. Aug. in hær. Priscil.

Ecb. Serm. 2.

Bern. Ib. init. ibid. Serm. 1. 2. 7. &c.

Ibid.

Prov. IX. 17.

Serm. 65. *in Cantic.*

known; these, on the contrary, strove only to conceal the asylum: others aim'd at victory; but these, more mischievous, fought only to annoy, lurking secretly in the grass, that they might infest their prey the more fearfully as the bite was less expected. The thing was; their error, once discover'd, was already half vanquish'd by its own absurdity: wherefore they betook themselves to the ignorant, to mechanicks, to silly women, to peasants, and recommended nothing so much to them as this mysterious Secret.

Ibid. ibid. ibid. &c. Lorin. Sum. 65. 66.

XXXIII. *Ecbertus* Cons. St. *Bernard.* *Ep. 241.* *Ecbert. Ep. Ann. 1163. p. 415. 416. p. 457.*

Ecbertus, who served God in a Church near *Cologn* at the time these new *Manichees*, whom *Ecbert* speaks of, were discover'd there, gives in the main the same account of them as this author; and not finding in the Church a greater Doctor he could address himself to for their conviction than the great St *Bernard*, Abbot of *Clairvaux*, he wrote him that fine letter the learned *Francis Malbin* hath given us in his *Analects*. Therein, besides the *Dogmata* of these Heretics which it is needless to repeat, we see the particularities which occasion'd their discovery: we see the distinction betwixt *the Auditors and the Elect*, a certain character of *Manichaism* specified by St. *Aelan*: we there see, that *they had their Pope*, a truth which afterwards became more manifest: and lastly, that they boasted, *Their Doctrine had a continued succession down to them, from the time of St. Marcion, and was received in Greece, and in some other countries*; which was very true, since it came from *Marcion* and *Marc.* Heresiarchs of the third century: and thus, it is apparent, on whose they was first [illegible] this method of maintaining the Church's succession, by a hidden tenet, and Doctors pick'd up here and there without any manifest and legitimate succession.

But

But left it ſhould be ſaid, the Doctrine of theſe Hereticks was, perchance, calumniated for want of being well underſtood: it appears as well by *Enervin*'s letter as by *Echert*'s ſermons, that the examination of theſe Hereticks was made in publick, and that it was one of their Biſhops with a companion of his who defended their Doctrine to their utmoſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, the whole Clergy, and all the People.

XXXIV. These Hereticks interrogated before all the people. *Ibid.* 452. *Echb. Serm.* 1.

St. *Bernard*, whom the pious *Enervin* excited to confute theſe Hereticks, then compoſed the two fine Sermons on the *Canticles*, in which he ſo vigorouſly impugn'd the Hereticks of his time. They carry ſo manifeſt a relation to *Enervin*'s letter, that it's plain this gave occaſion to them: but it's no leſs plain by St. *Bernard*'s ſo aſſured and poſitive way of ſpeaking, that he had alſo other informations, and knew more of the matter than *Enervin* himſelf. And indeed, it was now above twenty years, ſince *Peter de Bruis* and his diſciple *Henry* had ſecretly ſpread their errors in *Dauphiny*, in *Provence*, and eſpecially in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*. St. *Bernard* took a journey into that country expreſly to root up this bad ſeed, and the miracles he there wrought, in Confirmation of the *Catholick* truth, are more conſpicuous than the Sun. But the material point to be obſerved is, that he ſpar'd no pains to inform himſelf fully concerning a Hereſy he was going to oppoſe; and after frequent conferences with the diſciples of theſe Hereticks, he could not be ignorant of their Doctrine. Now he diſtinctly inſtances, together with their condemnation of *Infant-Baptiſm*, *the invocation of Saints*, *the oblations for the Dead*; that of *the uſe of Marriage*, and *of all that proceeded*, far or near, *from the union of both ſexes*, *as fleſh and white meats*. He taxes them likewiſe with not

XXXV. The tenets of these Hereticks related by St. *Bernard*, who was well acquainted with them at *Toulouſe*.

Serm. 66.

Serm. 65.

admitting the *Old Testament, and their receiving*
Serm. 66. *the Gospel only.* Another also of their errors remark'd by St *Bernard* was, that a sinner ceased to be a Bishop, and *that the Popes, the Archbishops, the Bishops, and Priests were neither capable of giving, or receiving the Sacraments, by reason they were sinners.* But what he most insists on, is their hypocrisy, not only in the deceitful appearance of their austere and penitential life, but also in the
Serm. 65. custom they constantly observed of receiving the Sacraments with us, and professing our Doctrine publickly, which they inveigh'd against in secret. St. *Bernard* shews, their piety was all dissimulation In appearance they blamed commerce with women, and nevertheless were all seen to pass days and nights apart with them. The profession they made of abhorring the sex, seem'd to warrant their not abusing it. They believed all oaths forbidden, yet, examined concerning their Faith,
Ibid. did not stick at perjury: such oddness and inconstancy is there in extravagant minds! From
2 Thes. 2. 7. all these things St. *Bernard* concluded, this was *the mystery of iniquity* foretold by St. *Paul*, so much the more to be fear'd, the more hidden it was; and that these were they whom the Holy Ghost made known to the same Apostle,
Serm. 66. as *giving heed to seducing Spirits and Doctrines*
1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. *of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their consciences sear'd with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created.* All the characters agree too clearly with them to need insisting on; behold here the fine Ancestors our *Calvinists* have chosen.

XXXVI. To say that these Heretics of *Italy*, of
Peter de Bruis and Henry. whom St *Bernard* speaks, are not the same with those vulgarly call'd *Albigenses*, were too gross a fallacy. The Ministers are agreed that *Peter de*

Bruis,

Bruis, and *Henry* are two Chiefs of this Sect, and that *Peter* the venerable Abbot of *Cluny* their cotemporary, of whom we shall soon speak, attack'd the *Albigenses under the name of* Petrobusians. If the chiefs are convicted of *Manicheism*, the disciples have not degenerated from this Doctrine, and these bad trees may be judged of by their fruit: for altho' it be certain from St. *Bernard*'s letters, and from the authors then living, that he converted many of these *Toulousian* Hereticks, the disciples of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, yet the race was not extinguish'd, which the more private it kept itself, the more proselites it gain'd. They were call'd *the good men* from their apparent meekness and simplicity: but their Doctrine became manifest in an interrogatory, many of them underwent at *Lombez* a little town near *Alby*, in a Council held there in 1176.

La Roq. Hist. de l'Eccl. 452. 453.

Ep. 241. *ad Tol. Vit. S. Bern. lib.* III. *c.* 5.

Act. Conc. Lumb. Tox. Conc. Lab. An. 1176.

XXXVII. The Council of *Lombez*. Famous examination of these Hereticks.

Gaucelin Bishop of *Lodeve*, of no less capacity in sound Doctrine than penetration into their artifices, was there commission'd to examine them about their Faith. They shuffle in many articles; they lye in others: but own in express terms, that *They reject the Old Testament*; *that they believe the Consecration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ equally good whether made by Laymen or Clergy, if good men*; *that all swearing is unlawful*; *and that Bishops and Priests, devoid of the qualities prescribed by St.* Paul, *are neither Bishops nor Priests*. They never could be brought, whatever was said, to approve of Marriage, nor Infant-Baptism; and the obstinate refusal to acknowledge such certain truths, was taken for a confession of their error. They were condemn'd also from the Scripture as men that refused to confess their Faith; and on all the points proposed, were urged home by *Ponce* Archbishop of

Narbonne,

Narbonne, by *Arnald* Bishop of *Nismes*, by the Abbots, and especially by *Gaucelin* Bishop of *Lodeve*, whom *Gerald* Bishop of *Albi* there present and Ordinary of *Lombez*, before the place was erected into a Bishoprick, had vested with his authority. I do not think there can be seen, in any *Council*, either a more regular procedure, or *Scripture* better employ'd, or a dispute more precise and convincing. Let men come and tell us after this, that what is said of the *Albigenses*, is all meer calumny.

XXXVIII. History of the same Council by a contemporary author. *Roger Hoveden. Annal. Angl.*

An historian of these times recites at length this *Council*, and gives a faithful abridgment of more ample acts which since have been retrieved. He begins his account thus. *There were Heretick in the province of* Toulouse *who would have themselves be call'd good men, and were maintain'd by the Soldiers of* Lombez. *These said, they neither received the law of* Moses, *nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament, nor the Doctors of the New, except the Gospels, St.* Paul's *Epistles, the seven canonical Epistles, the Acts, and Revelations.* Setting all the rest aside, here is enough to make our *Protestants* blush for the errors of their ancestors.

XXXIX. Whether the Heretics were call'd *Manichees* or *Arians*? *Roger Hoveden. Annal. Angl.*

But in order to raise a suspicion of some calumny in the proceedings against them, they observe, they were not call'd *Manichees* but *Arians*; yet the *Manichees* were never accused of *Arianism*, a mistake, say they, which *Raynerius* himself has own'd. What a fetch is this, to cavil about the title men give a Heresy, when they have it specified, not to mention other marks, by [illegible] the *Old Testament*? But we must also [illegible] contentious spirit, what reason there was to create the *Manichees* of *Arians*. It was [illegible] as *Pope* [illegible] expressly [illegible] *they* [illegible] *the Arians* in [illegible],

words, but denied it in their hearts, and turn'd the mystery into impertinent allegories.

This is likewise what St. *Austin* fully informs us of. *Faustus* Bishop of the *Manicheans* had written: *We confess under three names one only and the same Divinity of God the Father Almighty, of Jesus Christ his Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* But then he further adds: *that the Father dwelt in the principal and sovereign light call'd by St.* Paul *inaccessible. As for the Son, he resided in the second light, which is visible; and being twofold, according to the Apostle who speaks of the power and wisdom of Jesus Christ, his power resided in the Sun, and his wisdom in the Moon; and finally in regard of the Holy Ghost, his habitation was in our ambient air.* This is what *Faustus* said: whereby St. *Austin* convicts him of separating the *Son* from the *Father* even by corporeal spaces; nay, of separating him from himself, and of separating the *Holy Ghost* from them both; to situate them also, as did *Faustus*, in so unequal places, was placing betwixt the divine Persons a too manifest inequality. Such were these allegories fraught with ignorance, by which *Peter* of *Sicily* convicted the *Manicheans* of denying the *Trinity.* Such an explanation as this was far from a Confession of it; but, as St. *Austin* says, *was squaring the belief of the Trinity by the rule of his own conceits.* An author of the twelfth century, cotemporary with St. *Bernard*, acquaints us that these Hereticks declined saying, *Gloria Patri*; and *Renier* has it expressly, the *Cathari* or *Albigenses* did not believe *that the Trinity was one only God, but believed that the Father was greater than the Son and the Holy Ghost.* No wonder then that the *Catholicks* have sometimes rank'd the *Manicheans* with those that denied the

XI. The sentiment of the *Manicheans* concerning the *Trinity*, from St. *Austin. Faust. ap. Aug. lib. xx. cont. Faust. Hist.*

Herib. Mon. Ep. Arai. 111.

Rer. cit. Hist. c. 6. T. iv. Bib. PP. p. 759.

the *blessed Trinity*, and, on this consideration, given them the name of *Arians*.

XII. *Manicheans at Orleans.* The testimony of *Guy of Nogent. De vitâ sua lib.* III. c. 10.

To return to the *Manicheism* of these Heretics, *Guy* of *Nogent*, a celebrated author of the twelfth age and ancienter than St. *Bernard*, shews us Heretics near *Soyons* that *made a phantom of the Incarnation; that rejected Infant-baptism; that held in abhorrence the Mystery wrought at the Altar; yet took the Sacraments with us; that rejected all manner of Flesh, and whatsoever proceeds from the union of both sexes.* They made, after the example of those Heretics above-seen at *Orleans*, a *Eucharist* and *Sacrifice* not fit to be described? and, to shew themselves completely like the other *Manicheans*, *they concealed themselves like them, and mixed clandestinly amongst us*, confessing and swearing any thing, to save themselves from punishment.

Ibid.

XIII. Testimony of *Radulphus Ardens* concerning the Heretics of the *Agenois* [illegible] *Rom.* [illegible] 1.

Let us add to these witnesses *Radulphus Ardens* a renown'd author of the eleventh age, in the description he gives us of the Heretics of the *Agenois*, who *brag of leading the life of the Apostles; who say, they do not sin, they do not swear, who condemn the use of Flesh and Marriage; who reject the Old Testament, and receive a part only of the New; and, what is more terrible, admit two Creators; who say, the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing but mere Bread; who despise Baptism and the Resurrection of bodies.* Are not these *Manicheans* in their proper colours? Now, we descry no other Characteristicks in them than in those of *Toulouse* and *Albi*, whose Sect, we have seen, extended itself into *Gascony* and the adjacent Provinces. *Albi* also had its particular Doctors; but, be that as it will, the same spirit is discernable every where, and all is of the same stamp.

Thirty

Thirty of these Hereticks of *Gascony* took shelter in *England* in the year 1160. They were call'd *Poplicans* or *Publicans*. But let us see what was their Doctrine from *Gulielmus Neobridgensis* an Historian near to those times, whose testimony *Spelman*, a *Protestant* author, has inserted in the second Tome of his *English* Councils. *These Hereticks*, says he, *were brought before the Council held at* Oxford. Girard, *the only person of any learning, answer'd well as to the substance of the heavenly Physician: but proceeding to the remedies he had left us, they spoke very ill, abhorring Baptism, the Eucharist* and *Marriage*, and *despising Catholick unity.* Protestants put in the Catalogue of their ancestors these *Gascoign* Hereticks, for speaking ill (in the sentiment of the *English* nation then believing the *Real* Presence) of the Eucharistick Sacrament. But they ought to have consider'd, that these *Poplicans* stand accused, not of denying the *Real* Presence, *but of abhorring the Eucharist no less than Baptism and Marriage:* three visible Characteristicks of *Manicheism*; nor do I hold these Hereticks wholly justified as to the other points, under pretext that they did not answer amiss; for we have seen too much of the wiles of these people; and at best they would be never the less *Manicheans* for mitigating some few errors of this Sect.

XLIII. The same Hereticks in *England*. *Guil. Neobridg. Rer. Ang. lib.* II. *c* 13. *Conc. Oxon. T.* II. *Conc. Ang. Conc. Lab. T.* X. *An.* 1160. *La Roq Hist. de l'Euch. ch.* 18. *p.* 460.

Even the name of *Publicans* or *Poplicans* was a name of the *Manicheans*, as is manifestly seen from the testimony of *William le Breton*. This author, in the life of *Philip August* dedicated to his eldest Son *Lewis*, speaking of these Hereticks, *vulgarly call'd Poplicans*, says, *that they rejected Marriage; accounted it a crime to eat flesh; and had other superstitions specified by St.* Paul *in few words: viz.* in the first to *Timothy*.

XLIV. That the *Poplicans* or *Publicans* are *Manicheans*. *Philip. l. Duch. T.* V. *Hist. Franc. p.* 102.

Our

XIV. The Ministers make the *Vaudois Manichees* in making them *Poplicans*. *La Roq.* 455.

Our *Reformed* nevertheless think they do an honour to the disciples of *Waldo* by ranking them amongst the *Poplicans*. There needed no more to condemn the *Vaudois*. But I shall take no advantage from this mistake: I shall leave to the *Vaudois* their particular Heresies, it being enough for me here to have shewn the *Poplicans* convicted of *Manichism*.

XVI. The *Manichees* of *Ermengard*. *Aubert*. *La Roq.*

I own, with the *Presbyters*, that *Ermengard*'s treatise ought not to have been intitled, *against the Vaudois*, as it was by *Gretser*, for he speaks in no kind about these Heretricks: but the thing was, in *Gretser*'s time, the general name of *Vaudois* was given to all Sects separate from *Rome* ever since the eleventh or twelfth century down to *Luther*'s days; which was the reason that this author, publishing divers treatises against these Sects, gave them this common title, *against the Vaudois*. Yet he did not omit to preserve, to each book, the title he had found in the Manuscript. Now *Ermengard* or *Ermengaud* had intitled his book thus: A Treatise against the Heretricks called [illegible], that [illegible] God, that created the world and all things [illegible]. He refutes in particular, chapter by chapter, all the errors of these Heretricks, which are all those of *Manichees* so frequently remarked by us. It is true speaking against the *Incarnation*, they speak not less against *Baptism*: they reject the worship of Saints. Upon other doctrinal points, they do no less against the *Communion*, the *Sacrament*, the *Doctrine* of *Mass*, *Marriage*, *Curing* of *Lands*, and the *Resurrection*, so that to value themselves on the authority of the *Scripture*, is placing their glory in infamy itself.

Jurieu, *Hist. des Dogmes*, p. 1255.

Ibid. [illegible] *Ibid.* [illegible] *Ibid.* [illegible] II. III. VII. *Ibid.* V. XV. XVI.

XVII. *Reflections*.

I pass by many other writings, which after so many convincing proofs are no longer necessary: but

but ſome there are not to be omitted, on account that they inſenſibly lead us to the knowledge of the *Vaudois*.

the authors, who treat of the *Manicheans* and *Vaudois*, is proceeded to.

In the firſt place, I produce *Alanus* a famous Monk of the *Ciſtercian Order*, and one of the firſt authors that writ againſt the *Vaudois*. He dedicated a treatiſe againſt the Hereticks of his time to the Count of *Montpellier* his Lord, and divided it into two books. The firſt concerns the Hereticks of his country. To them he aſcribes the two principles, the denial of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Incarnation, and attributing to him a fantaſtical body, and all the other points of *Manicheiſm* againſt the law of *Moſes*, againſt the *Reſurrection*, againſt the uſe of *Fleſh*, and *Marriage*: to which he adds ſome other things we had not as yet ſeen in the *Albigenſes*; amongſt others, the damnation of St. *John Baptiſt* for having doubted of the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for they took for a doubt, in this holy precurſor, what he cauſed his diſciples to ſay to our Saviour, *Art thou he that ſhould come?* a moſt extravagant notion, but very conformable to what *Fauſtus* the *Manichean* writes, as St. *Auſtin* teſtifies. The other authors, that wrote againſt theſe new *Manicheans*, unanimouſly lay the ſame error to their charge.

XLVIII. Proof from *Alanus* that the Hereticks of *Montpellier* are *Manicheans*.

Alan. p. 31. *Mat.* xi. 3. *Liv. cont. Fauſt. c.* 1. *Ebrard. Antiheer. c.* 13. *V.* IV. *Bib. PP. p.* 1332. *Evrieng.* VI. *ibid.* 1339. &c.

In the ſecond part of his work, *Alanus* treats concerning the *Vaudois*, and there makes a liſt of their errors, which we ſhall ſee in due place: it ſuffices to obſerve here, that there is nothing amongſt them favouring of *Manicheiſm*, and that at firſt ſight, theſe two Hereſies are quite diſtinguiſh'd.

XLIX. The ſame author diſtinguiſhes the *Vaudois* from the *Manicheans*.

That of *Waldo* was as yet a novelty. It took its riſe at *Lions* in the Year 1160, and *Alanus* wrote in 1202, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. A little after, and near upon the year

L. *Peter of Vaucernay* diſtinguiſhes mighty

well these two Sects, and shews the *Albigenses* are *Manicheans*. *Hist. Alb. Pet. Vaul. Cern. ex 2 T. v. Hist. Franc. Duchesn. Ibid.*

year 1209, *Peter* of *Vaucernay* compiled his history of the *Albigenses*, where treating on the different Sects and Heresies of his time, he begins with the *Manicheans*, and specifies their several parties, wherein are always to be seen some Characteristicks of those above observed in *Manicheism*, altho' in some strain'd higher, and in others more temper'd according to the fancy of these Hereticks. Be that as it will, the whole is bottom'd on *Manicheism*, and this is the peculiar Characteristick of that Heresy, which *Peter de Vaucernay* represents to us *in the Province of* Narbonne, namely the Heresy of the *Albigenses* whose history he undertakes. Nothing like this does he attribute to the other Hereticks, of whom he treats. *There were*, says he, *other Hereticks call'd* Vaudois, *from a certain* Waldius *of* Lions. *These doubtless were bad, but nothing in comparision of the first.* Then he observes in few words four of their capital errors, and immediately after returns to his *Albigenses*. But these errors of the *Vaudois* are far remote from *Manicheism*, as will soon appear: here then we have again the *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*, two Sects thoroughly distinguish'd, and the last clear from any character of *Manicheism*.

11 *Peter of Vaucernay*, in his plain way has well specified the Characteristicks of the *Manicheans*.

The *Protestants* will have it, that *Peter* of *Vaucernay* spoke of the *Manichean* Heresy, without well knowing what he said, on account of his charging them with blasphemies which are not to be found even in the *Manicheans*. But who can answer for all the fancies and new inventions of this abominable Sect? What *Peter* of *Vaucernay* makes them speak concerning the two *Jesus*'s, whereof one was born in the visible and terrestrial *Bethlehem*, the other in the celestial and invisible, is much of a piece with the other extravagancies of the *Manicheans*. This invisible *Bethlehem* does

does not ill suit with the supernatural *Jerusalem*, which *Peter* of *Sicily*'s *Paulicians* call'd the *Mother of God*, whence *Jesus Christ* proceeded. Say what they will of the visible *Jesus*, that he was not the true Christ, that he was accounted evil by these Hereticks, I see nothing in all that more extravagant than the other blasphemies of the *Manicheans*. We meet in *Renier* with Hereticks holding somewhat akin to what the *Manicheans* held, and acknowledging a *Christ* Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, evil at first and a sinner, but afterwards turn'd good, and the restorer of their Sect. Certain it is, these *Manichean* Hereticks were much addicted to change. *Renier*, once of their number, distinguishes the new from the ancient opinions, and observes many novelties to have sprouted up amongst them in his time, and since the year 1230. Ignorance and extravagance seldom hold long in the same state, and know no bounds in man. However it be, if hatred conceived against the *Albigenses* made men charge them with *Manicheism*, or if you please, something worse than hatred; whence does proceed that care they took to excuse the *Vaudois*, since it cannot be supposed they were better loved than those, or less declared enemies to the Church of *Rome?* Yet we have already two authors very zealous for the Catholick Doctrine, and very averse to the *Vaudois*, who carefully distinguish them from the *Manichean Albigenses*.

Petr. Sic.

Rev. cont. Wald. c. 6. T. iv. 2. part. Bib. PP. p. 753.

Ibid. 759.

Here is also a third not less considerable. 'Tis *Evrard* native of *Bethune*, whose book intitled, *Antiheresy*, was composed against the Hereticks of *Flanders*. These Hereticks were call'd *Piphles* or *Piphles* in that country language. A *Protestant* author does not conjecture ill, imagining this word *Piphles* to be a corruption from that

LII. Discovery of the two Sects by Evrard of Bethune. Bib. p. 1075.

Pet. de Vall-Cern. Hiſt. c. 2 *La Roq.* 454.

of *Poplicans*; and thence may be learnt that theſe *Flemiſh* Hereticks, like the *Poplicans*, were perfect *Manicheans*, nevertheleſs good *Proteſtants*, if we believe the *Calviniſts*, and worthy to be their Anceſtors. But not to dwell on the name, we need but give ear to *Ebrard* an author of that country, in his deſcription of theſe Hereticks. At the firſt touch, he ſhews they rejected the *Law*, and the God that gave it: the reſt is of the ſame ſtamp, they not only deſpiſing *Marriage*, but the uſe of *Fleſh meat*, and the *Sacraments*.

LIII. The *Vaudois* well diſtinguiſhed from the *Manichees*.

After methodically digeſting all he had to ſay againſt this Sect, he proceeds to ſpeak againſt that of the *Vaudois*, which he diſtinguiſhes, like the reſt, from that of the new *Manicheans*; and this is the third witneſs we have to produce. But here is a fourth of greater importance in this fact than all the reſt.

LIV. [illegible]

'Tis *Reiner* of the Order of *Dominican* Friars, from whom we have already cited ſome paſſages. He wrote about the year 12[illegible], or [illegible], and the title he gave his book was, *De H*[illegible]*, et Hæreticis*, as he teſtifies in his Preface. He ſtyles himſelf *Brother* Reiner *formerly an Hereſiarch*, and *now a Prieſt*, on account of his having been ſeventeen years among the [illegible], as he twice acknowledges. This author is well known among the *Proteſtants*, who have never contradicted the fine deſcription he has made of the manners of the *Vaudois*. He is the more to be credited in this reſpect, as he tells us both good and bad with ſo great ſincerity. Now it cannot be ſaid that he had not a competent knowledge of the ſeveral Sects of his time. He had been [illegible] preſent at the examination of Hereticks, and [illegible] was that the minuteſt diſtinctions were moſt narrowly [illegible]

obſerve

obscure and cunning Sects, wherewith *Christendom*, at that time, was over-run. Many of them were converted, and detected all the Mysteries of the Sect, which had been so carefully concealed. A thorough knowledge of the distemper is half the cure. Over and above this, *Renier* applied his study to the reading of Heretical books, as of that great Volume of *John* of *Lions* a leading man amongst the new *Manicheans*, and from thence extracted the articles of his Doctrine which he reports. No wonder then, this author has given us a more exact account than any other, of the differences in his cotemporary Sects.

Ibi. p. 74.

Ibi. c. 6. p. 762. 763.

LV. He distinguishes them mighty well from the *Waldois*. The Characteristicks of *Manichaeism* in the *Cathari*.

The first he instances in is that of the *poor men* of *Lions* descended from *Peter Waldo*, all whose *Dogmata* he sets down even to the most nice precision. All therein is far remote from *Manicheism*, as we shall see hereafter. Thence he proceeds to the other Sects of the *Manichean* race; and comes at length to the *Cathari*, whose secrets he was intirely acquainted with: for besides his having been, as already observed, seventeen years amongst them, and thoroughly initiated in the Sect, he had heard their greatest Doctors preach, and amongst others, one call'd *Nazarius* the ancientest of them all, who boasted of having been form'd under the discipline, sixty years before, of the two chief Pastors of the *Bulgarian* Church. However, observe this extraction always from *Bulgaria*. 'Twas from thence the *Cathari* of *Italy*, amongst whom *Renier* dwelt, derived their authority; and as he had been conversant amongst them so many years, 'tis not to be wonder'd, he has the most accurately unfolded, as to all particulars, their Errors, their Sacraments, their Ceremonies, the different parties form'd amongst them, with the

Ibi. c. v. p. 749. & seq.

Ibid. c. vi. 753. 754. Ibid. 755. Ibid. 756.

affinities as well as the derivation of one from the other. In him, every where are to be ſeen very clearly the principles, the impieties, and the whole ſpirit of *Manicheiſm*. The diſtinction of the *Elect* and *Auditors*, a particular Characteriſtick of the Sect, frequent in St *Auſtin* and other authors, is found here diſtinguiſh'd under another name. We learn from *Renier*, that theſe Hereticks, beſides the *Cathari* or *Pure*, the moſt conſummate of the Sect, had alſo another claſs which they call'd *their Believers*, made up of all ſorts of people. Theſe were not admitted to all the Myſteries; and the ſame *Renier* relates that the number of the perfect *Cathari*, in his time, when the Sect was weakned, *Did not exceed four thouſand in all Christendom*; but *that the Believers were innumerable in compariſon*; ſays he, [illegible] *them.*

Ren. [illegible]

Ren. [illegible]

LXI. [illegible]

Amongſt the [illegible] of theſe Hereticks their impoſition of hands, in order to remit ſins [illegible] and *Pe-* [illegible] Yet [illegible] and in *Ermengard.* *R*[illegible] in the Maſs [illegible] B[illegible] of the [illegible], and [illegible] his time. They [illegible] the reſt he [illegible]

the two Orders of *Bulgaria* and *Drungaria* mentioned by *Vignier*'s author, and which united themselves in *Lombardy*. I repeat once more that there is no necessity of searching what this *Drungaria* can be. These obscure Hereticks often took their name from unknown places. *Renier* tells us of *Runcarians*, a *Manichean* Sect of his time, whose name was taken from a village. Who knows but this word, *Runcarians*, was a corruption of *Druncarians?*

Rev. Hi. p. 753. 754.

We find in the same author, and elsewhere, so many different names of these Hereticks, that it were labour lost to inquire their origin. *Patarians*, *Poplicans*, *Toulousians*, *Albigenses*, *Cathari*, were under different names, and often with some diversity, in Sect *Manicheans*, all of *Bulgarian* descent; whence also they took the name most in use among the vulgar.

LVII. The same origin proved from *Matthew Paris*. The *Pope* of the *Albigenses* in *Bulgaria*. *Mat. Paris in Henr.* III. *An.* 1223. *p.* 317. *Et Everw. ex S. Bernard. Serm. Mediol.* III. *Ibid. An.* 1234. *p.* 395.

So certain is this origin, that we find it acknowledged even in the thirteenth century. *At this time*, says *Matthew Paris* (*viz*, in the year 1223,) the *Albigensian Hereticks made themselves an Antipope call'd* Bartholomew, *in the confines of Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*. It appears afterwards, that the *Albigenses* went in crowds to consult him; that he had a *Vicar* at *Carcassone* and *Toulouse*, and dispatch'd his Bishops far and near: which comes up manifestly to what was said by *Ebervin*, that these Hereticks had their *Pope*; altho' the same author acquaints us that all did not own him. And that no doubt might remain as to the error of the *Albigenses* mentioned by *Matthew Paris*; the same author assures us, *The Albigenses of Spain* that took up arms in 1234, amongst many other errors, *Particularly denied the Mystery of the Incarnation*.

Notwithstanding such great impieties, the outward appearance of these Hereticks was surpri-

CAP. VIII. fing. [illegible] in these terms: [illegible] to Catholicks, [illegible] *most* [illegible] *Christians*, [illegible] *Christ*, [illegible] *Clergy*, [illegible] *Clergy*, [illegible] *Life*. They boasted next their abstinence, their zeal, the narrow way they walk'd in, and call'd themselves the only followers of the Apostolick life, for that, contented with necessaries, they had neither house, nor land, nor riches, *Ouvrant*, tell they, *that* [illegible] *had not* [illegible] *things*, [illegible] *Dou*[illegible].

According to St. [illegible], [illegible] *Chapter* [illegible] *affirmed* that their [illegible], [illegible] more like [illegible] than [illegible]. That for they call'd themselves [illegible] Apostl[illegible] Mo[illegible] [illegible] Mo[illegible] [illegible] to C[illegible]

But St. *Austin* and St. *Bernard* shew them, that their virtue was nothing but vain ostentation. To carry the abstinence from meats so far as to say, they are unclean and evil in their nature; and continence, even to the condemnation of Marriage, is, on one hand, to attack the *Creator*, and, on the other, loosing the reins to evil desires by leaving them absolutely without a remedy. Never believe any good of those who run virtue to extremes. The depravation of their minds venting itself in such extravagance of speech, introduces into their lives disorders without end.

LX. Their hypocrisy confounded by St. *Austin* and St. *Bernard*. *Bern. Serm. 66. in Cant.*

St. *Austin* informs us that these people, who debarr'd themselves of Marriage, allow'd liberty for every thing else. What, according to their principles, they properly had in abhorrence (I am ashamed to be forced to repeat it) was conception, whereby appears, what an inlet was open'd to the abominations, whereof the old and new *Manicheans* stand convicted. But, as among the different Sects of these new *Manicheans*, there were degrees of weakness, the most infamous of all were those call'd *Patarians*; which I the more willingly take notice of by reason that our *Reformed*, who place them expressly amongst the *Vaudois*, glory in descending from them.

LXI. The infamy of these Heretics and chiefly of the *Patarians*. *Aug. Ron. c. xvi. Edward c. 26. t. iv. Bib. PP. 1. part. p. 1158. Ron. c. vi. t. iv. Bib. PP. 2. part. p. 553. Ian B. [illegible] part. [illegible] 18. p. 445.*

Those that make the greatest ostentation of their virtue and the purity of their lives, generally speaking, are the most corrupt. It may have been observed how these impure *Manicheans* prided themselves, at their beginning, and thro' the whole progress of the Sect, in a virtue more severe than that of others; and in the view of inhancing their own merit said, that the *Sacraments* and Mysteries lost their efficacy in impure hands. It's necessary to take good notice of this part of their Doctrine, which we have seen in

LXII. Doctrine of these Heretics, that the effect of the Sacraments de-

read on the faith of the Mission [illegible] *Ferr.* [illegible] *Mon. Jan.* [illegible]

Estrein, in St. *Bernard*, and in the *Council* of *Lambis*. Wherefore *Remer* repeats twice, that this imposition of hands, by them call'd *Confirmation*, and wherein they placed the remission of sins, was unprofitable to the receiver, if the giver of it were in sin, tho' hidden. The reason of accounting for this Doctrine, according to *Remmgard*, was because a person having lost the *Holy Ghost*, is no longer impower'd to give it; which was the very reason alledged by the *Donatists* of old.

LXIII. They condemn all oath and participation of crime. *Pere Serm. Ch.* [illegible]

It was moreover for shew of sanctity and to raise themselves above others, that they said, a Christian ought never to affirm the truth by oath for what cause soever, not even in a Court of judicature, and that it was unlawful to put any one to death how[illegible] criminal. The *Lucian*, as we shall see, borrow'd from them all these extravagant maxims and all this vain exterior of piety.

Such were the *Adam*[illegible] by the testimony of all their contemporary authors, not one excepted. The *P*[illegible] [illegible] for them, and they can answer in that their excesses, their errors, and all those calumnies of the *Fathers*, are the [illegible] of their [illegible]. But has they for an excuse for what they advance, [illegible] author of those times, and for more than [illegible] hundred years, to back them in their [illegible] as many writers as have [illegible] the whole universe who have treated of this Sect. Those that were [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] root.

They

They oppose against us conjectures, nay, what conjectures? We shall take a view of them, for I mean to produce here those that carry the best appearance.

LXV. Examination of *Peter de Bruis*'s Doctrine. The Ministers objection taken from *Peter* of *Clun*. *Petr. Ven. ex. Petrobr.*

The greatest effort of our adversaries, is in order to justify *Peter de Bruis* and his disciple *Henry*. St. *Bernard*, say they, accuses them of condemning *Meats* and *Marriage*. But *Peter* the *venerable Abbot* of *Cluny*, who much about that time refuted *Peter de Bruis*, speaks nothing of these errors, and accuses him of five only: of denying *Infant-Baptism*, of condemning *hallow'd* Churches, of breaking *Crosses* instead of venerating them, of rejecting the *Eucharist*, of ridiculing *Oblations* and Prayers for the dead. St. *Bernard* avers, this Heretick and his followers *received only the Gospel*. But *venerable Peter* speaks *doubtingly of it*. *Fame*, says he, *hath publish'd that you do not wholly believe either in Jesus Christ, or the Prophets, or the Apostles: but reports, frequently deceitful, are not to be lightly credited, there being some even that say, you reject the whole Canon of the Scriptures*. Whereupon he adds: *I will not blame you for what is uncertain*. Here *Protestants* commend the prudence of *venerable Peter*, and blame St. *Bernard*'s credulity, as one too easily assenting to confused reports.

T. xxii Bib. Max. p. 1034. Serm. 65. in Cant. Pet. Vener. Ibid. p. 1037.

LXVI. *Peter de Bruis*'s Doctrine according to *Peter* of *Clun*. *Op. [illegible] et. [illegible]*

But in the first place, to take only what the *Abbot* of *Cluny* reproves as certain in this Heretick, there is more than enough to condemn him. *Calvin* has number'd amongst blasphemies the Doctrine condemning *Infant-Baptism*. The denying it with *Peter de Bruis*, and his disciple *Henry*, was refusing salvation to the most innocent age of man; it was saying, that for so many ages, during which scarce any were baptized but children, there had been no *Baptism* in the world,

world, no *Sacrament*, no *Church*, no *Chriſtians*. 'Tis what cauſed horror in the Abbot of *Cluny*. The reſt of *Peter de Bruis*'s errors, related by this venerable author, are not leſs inſupportable. Let us give ear to what he is reported with regard of the *Eucharist* by the holy Abbot, who hath juſt declared to us, he will ascribe nothing to him but what is certain. *He denies*, ſays he, *that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are made by virtue of the divine word and ministry of the Prieſt, and avers, all that is done at the Altar is unprofitable.* This is not only denying the truth of the Body and Blood, but like the *Manicheans*, rejecting abſolutely the *Eucharist*. For which reaſon the holy *Abbot* ſubjoins a little after: *Were your Heresy contained within the bounds of that of* Berengarius, *who in denying the truth of the Body did not deny the Sacrament, i.e. the appearance and figure of it, I would refer you to the authors that have refuted him.* But, proceeds he a little after, *you add error to error, heresy to heresy; and not only deny the truth of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, but even the Sacrament, i.e. the figure and their appearance* [illegible]

Ibid. p. 1157.

[illegible] *Peter de Bruis* [illegible] their not being as [illegible]

for ſtill further aſſurance. St. *Bernard*, who had beheld theſe Hereticks at cloſe view, knew more of them than *venerable Peter* who wrote only from report: nor did he know all, and for that reaſon, would not venture to call them compleat *Manicheans*; for he was not leſs circumſpect than *venerable Peter* to impute nothing to them but what was certain. Accordingly, obſerve how he ſpeaks of their impurities: *men ſay, they do ſhameful things in private. Men ſay*, implies, he had not as yet a full aſſurance of them, for which reaſon he forbore to ſpeak poſitively. Thoſe that knew them, ſpoke out: but this diſcretion of St. *Bernard* makes it plain, how certain that was, with which he reproach'd them.

Serm. 65.

Serm. 66.

But, it's objected, he was credulous, and *Otho* of *Freiſingen*, an author of thoſe times, has reproach'd him with it. We muſt alſo hearken to this conjecture, which the *Proteſtants* lay ſuch ſtreſs on. It is true, *Otho* of *Freiſingen* thinks St. *Bernard* too credulous, by reaſon he cauſed the manifeſt errors of *Gilbert de la Poiree* Biſhop of *Poitiers* to be condemn'd, which his diſciple *Otho* ſtrove to extenuate. This reproach of *Otho* is therefore the excuſe which an affectionate diſciple prepares for his maſter. However let us ſee, wherein he makes St. *Bernard*'s credulity to conſiſt. *In this*, ſays *Otho*, that *this Abbot, as well from the fervor of his Faith, as his innate goodneſs, being a little too credulous; the Doctrine that relied too much on human reaſon, and the wiſdom of this world, were miſtrusted by him; and if he were inform'd, their Doctrine was not wholly conformable to Faith, he eaſily believed it.* Was he in the wrong? no certainly, and experience ſufficiently evidences that *Peter Abelard*, who for this reaſon incurr'd his ſuſpicion, and *Gilbert*, who explain'd the *Trinity* rather according to *Ariſtotle*'s

LXVIII. Anſwer to what is objected concerning St. *Bernard*'s credulity. *Gilbert. La Poi. Otho. Frei. in Gesta Fred. Imp. l. 1. c. 50.*

topicks

topicks than tradition and the rule of Faith, stray'd from the path of truth, since their errors, condemn'd by [illegible], are equally abandoned by [illegible] and *Pr*[illegible].

LXIX. St. *Bernard* pretends to bring to *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* the disciples of the *Tanchelin*, but what he knows *Fleury*, *Ecclesiast. History*, *Peter Venerable*, *St. Hilarion*, *Mosheim*, III. 312 & seq. *Sermons*.

Let us see then accordingly here the credulity of St *Bernard*. It he has represented *Henry* the disciple of *Peter de Bruis* and the leader of the *Tanchelin*, with the most profane and hypocritical of men, all contemporary authors passed the same judgment on him. The crimes he imputes to the disciples of these Heretickes have been own'd, and were discover'd daily more and more as the sequel of this history shall manifest. Nor was it rashly that St. *Bernard* lays those to their charge which we find in his sermons. *I will relate to you*, says he, *their extravagances, which came to our knowledge either by the answers they have made, without reflexion, to Clergymen; or by the mutual reproaches which these wretches brought to light; or by the things exposed by them when convicted.* Thus were their extravagances discover'd, which St. *Bernard* answers calls blasphemies. Had there been nothing else in the *Homilies* but that blind passion for those women their constant companions, with whom, as St. *Bernard* relates, they pass'd their lives shut up in the same chamber night and day, it were enough to raise an [illegible] of them. [illegible] St. *Bernard* [illegible]

Ibid.

the Church. Otherwise, this fact, which is manifest, will make us suspect the rest, tho' not so manifest. He was not too credulous in this suspicion, and the filthiness of these false pretenders to Continence has since been revealed to the whole world.

LXX. Conclusion: that Protestants reap nothing but shame by making the *Albigenses* their Predecessors.

How comes it then to pass that the *Protestants* undertake the defence of these villains? The reason is but too evident. 'Tis the earnest desire they have of finding out predecessors. They meet with none but such as these that stood out against venerating the Cross, praying to Saints, making oblations for the Dead. They are concerned to find no where the foot steps of their *Reformation* but amongst the *Manicheans*. Because they inveigh against the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*, the *Reformation* is inclined to favour them. The *Catholicks* of those times reproach them with their bad notions concerning the *Eucharist*. Our *Protestants* would have been glad they had been but meer *Berengarians*, displeased with the *Eucharist* in part, not *Manichean*s, averse to it in the whole. But tho' it had been so, these *Reformed*, whom you will have your brethren, conceal'd their Doctrine, *frequented our Churches, honour'd Priests, went to the oblation: confess'd their sins, communicated, received with us*, continues St. *Bernard*, *the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*. Behold them therefore in our assemblies, which in their hearts they detested as the Conventicles of Satan; present at *Mass*, which, in their error, they accounted an *Idolatry* and *Sacrilege*; and in short, practising the usages of the Church of *Rome*, which they believed was the kingdom of *Antichrist*. Are these the disciples of him, who commanded his Gospel to be preach'd on the house-tops? Are these the children of light? Are these

Serm. 65. in Cant. Eckbert. Ep.

these the works which shine forth before men, or rather such as should be hid in darkness? in a word, are these the Fathers for the *Reformation* to chuse and boast of?

A History of the VAUDOIS.

LXXI. Beginning of the *Vaudois*, or *Poor men of Lyons*.

THE *Vaudois* stand next in order to settle a legitimate succession. Their name is derived from *Waldo* the author of the Sect. *Lyons* was the place of their nativity. They were call'd the *Poor men of Lyons*, on account of the poverty affected by them; and as the City of *Lyons* was then call'd in *Latin Lugdunum*, they had also the appellation of *Lugdunis*, or *Lugdun*.

LXXII. The [illegible] of their [illegible]

They were also call'd the *Ignorantes* from an ancient word signifying *Shoes*, whence have proceeded other words of a like signification still in use in several other languages as well as ours. They took this opprobrious name of the *Ignorantes* from a direct shoe of a particular make, which they cut in the upper part to show that they imitated the Apostles, as thus cut, and that rather was accompanied by this [illegible] of their Apostolic Poverty.

LXXIII. [illegible]

As [illegible] *Pons* [illegible] a Merchant of *Lyons*, of a [illegible] of the *Lord* [illegible] with the [illegible] to the poor [illegible] voluntary poverty [illegible] of *Jesus Christ* and his *Disciples*. [illegible]

Renier says, whom the *Protestants*, pleased with the encomiums we shall find he bestows on the *Vaudois*, will have us believe in this matter preferably to all other authors. But we are going to see, what misguided piety can arrive to. *Peter Pylichdorf*, who beheld the *Vaudois* in their most flourishing condition, and related, not only their *Dogmata*, but deportment too with much simplicity and learning, says, that *Waldo*, moved with those words of the *Gospel* so highly favourable to poverty, believed the *Apostolick* life was no longer to be found on earth. Bent on restoring it, he sold all he had. *Others, touch'd with compunction, did the same*, and united together in this undertaking. At the first rise of this obscure and timorous Sect, either they had none, or did not publish any particular tenet; which was the reason that *Ebrard* of *Bethune* remarks nothing singular in them but the affectation of a proud and lazy poverty. One might see these *Insabbatized* or *Sabbatized*, so he calls them, with their naked feet, or rather with *their shoes cut open* at top, waiting for alms, and living only on what was given them. Nothing was blamed in them, at first, but ostentation, and without lifting them as yet amongst Heretieks, they were reproach'd only with imitating their pride. But let us hear the sequel of their history: *After living a while in this pretended Apostolick Poverty, they bethought themselves that the Apostles were not only poor, but also preach'd the Gospel.* They set themselves therefore to preach according to their example, that they might wholly imitate the Apostolick life. But the *Apostles* were *Sent*, and these men, whose ignorance render'd them incapable of such *Mission*, were excluded by the *Prelates*, and lastly by the *Holy See*, from a ministry which they had usurpt without their leave. Nevertheless

Lib. cont. Wal. c. 1. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. part. p. 779.

Antih. c. 25.

Ibi. 1168.

Ibid.

Ib. 1170.

Pylich. ff

theleſs they continued it in private, and murmur'd againſt the *Clergy* that hinder'd them from preaching, as they ſaid, thro' jealouſy, and on account that their Doctrine and holy life was a reproach to the others corrupted manners.

P. Vall. Pil. Rev. Ibid.

LXXIV. Whether *Waldo* were a man of learning. *Ren. c.* [illegible]

Some *Proteſtants* have affirmed, that *Waldo* was a man of learning: but *Renier* ſays only, *He had a ſmall tincture of it; aliquantulum litteratus*. Other *Proteſtants*, on the contrary, take advantage from the great ſucceſs he had in his ignorance. But it's but too well known, what a dexterity often may be met with in the minds of the moſt ignorant men, to attract to them thoſe that are alike diſpoſed, and *Waldo* ſeduced none but ſuch.

LXXV. The *Vaudois* condemned by *Lucius* III. [illegible]

This Sect, in little time, made a great progreſs. *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcaud*, who ſaw their beginnings, remarks their increaſe under *Pope Lucius* the third. This *Pope*'s Pontificate commences in 1181, to wit, twenty years after *Waldo* had appear'd at *Lyons*. Twenty years at leaſt were requiſite to make a body and ſo conſiderable a Sect as to deſerve notice. At that time therefore *Lucius* III. condemned them; and as his *Pontificate* laſted but four years, this condemnation of the *Vaudois* must have been between the year 1181, when this *Pope* aſcended St. *Peter*'s Chair, and the year 1185 wherein he died.

LXXVI. They come to *Rome*. They are condemned [illegible] the third *Pope*. [illegible]

Conrad Abbot of *Urſperg*, reaſonably acquainted, as we ſhall ſee, with the *Vaudois*, has written, that *Pope Lucius* [illegible] Do[illegible] Neither these *Dogmas* are not [illegible]; but this is certain, that, if this Author had obſerv'd such remarkable points, as that of the *Real Preſence*, a matter become ſo important by *Berengarius*'s [illegible] condemnation.

condemnation) it had not been thought sufficient to say in general, they held *some superstitious Dogmata.*

LXXVII. Another proof that their errors did not regard the Eucharist.

Much about the same time, in the year 1194, a statute of *Alphonsus* or *Ildephonsus*, King of *Arragon*, reckons the *Vaudois* or *Insabbatized*, otherwise the *poor men* of *Lions*, amongst *Hereticks* anathematized by the *Church*, and this is manifestly in consequence of the sentence pronounced by *Lucius* III. After this Pope's death, when in spite of his decree these Hereticks spread themselves far and near, and *Bernard* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, who condemn'd them anew after a great inquest, could not stem the current of their progress, many pious persons, *Ecclesiasticks* and *others*, procured a *Conference* in order to reclaim them in an amicable manner. *Both sides agreed to chuse for Umpire* in the Conference, a holy Priest call'd *Raimond* of *Daventry*, *a man illustrious for birth, but much more so for the holiness of his life.* The assembly was very solemn, *and the dispute held long.* Such passages of Scripture, as each party grounded itself on, were produced on both sides. The *Vaudois* were condemn'd, and declared *Hereticks* in regard to all the heads of accusation.

Apud. Em. 2. p. direct. inq. q. xiv. p. 287. *& apud. Marian. Præf. in Luc. Trid. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. 2. p. p.* 582. *Bern. de Font. Cal. adversus Wald. Sect. in Præf. T.* iv. *Bib. PP. 3. p. p.* 1195.

LXXVIII. Proof of the same truth by a famous Conference, wherein all point were discuss'd.

Thereby appears that the *Vaudois*, tho' condemn'd, had not as yet broken all measures with the Church of *Rome*, in that they had agreed to the Umpirage of a Catholick and Priest. The Abbot of *Fontcauld*, present at the Conference, did commit to writing, with much judgment and perspicuity, the debated points, and the passages alledged on both sides: so that nothing can give us a clearer insight into the whole state of the question, such as it then was, and at the beginning of the Sect.

LXXIX. Article of the Conference.

The dispute chiefly turn'd on the obedience due to *Pastors*. It's plain, the *Vaudois* refused it, and, notwithstanding all their prohibitions, believed they had a right to preach, both men and women. As this disobedience could be grounded on nothing else, but the Pastors unworthiness, the *Catholicks*, in proving the obedience due to them, prove it is due even to the wicked, and that grace, be its channel what it will, never ceases to diffuse itself on the faithful. For the same reason they shew'd, that slandering of Pastors (whence was taken the pretext of disobedience) was forbidden by the laws of God. Then they attack the liberty, Lay-men gave themselves, of preaching without the Pastors leave, nay in spite of their prohibitions, and shew, these seditious preachments tend to the subversion of the weak and ignorant. Above all, they prove from the *Scripture*, that women, to whom silence is injoin'd, ought not to interfere in teaching. Lastly, it's remonstrated to the *Vaudois*, how much they are in the wrong, to reject prayer for the Dead so well grounded in *Scripture*, and so evidently handed down by *Tradition*: and, whereas these *Heretics* abstained from *Churches* in order to pray apart in their houses, they are made sensible, they ought not to abandon the house of prayer, whose dignity the whole [illegible] and the [illegible] of God hath it had to [illegible]

LXXX. The [illegible]

Without examining here which it is was right or wrong in [illegible], it's plain, [illegible] the *Vaudois* [illegible] *Dead Persons*, [illegible] of the *Sacrament* into question, they did not so much as mention praying to Saints, but *Angels*, not *Saints*.

' Dear

'Twas near about this time, that *Alanus* wrote the book above-mention'd; wherein, after carefully distinguishing the *Vaudois* from the other Hereticks of his time, he undertakes to prove, in opposition to their Doctrine, *That none ought to preach without mission; that Prelates should be obey'd, and not only good, but also evil ones; that their bad lives derogate not from their power; that 'tis the sacred order we ought to attribute the power of consecrating to,* and *that of binding and loosing, and not to personal merit: that we ought to confess to Priests, and not to Lay-men; that it is lawful to swear in certain cases, and to execute malefactors.* This is much what he opposes to the errors of the *Vaudois.* Had they err'd in relation to the *Eucharist, Alanus* would not have forgotten it, the very thing he was so mindful to reproach the *Albigenses* with, against whom he undertakes to prove both the *Real* Presence and *Transubstantiation*; and after reproving so many things of less importance in the *Vaudois,* he would never have omitted so essential a point.

LXXXI. *Alanus,* who makes a list of the errors of the *Vaudois,* objects nothing concerning the Eucharist. *Alan. lib.* 11. *p.* 175. *&* *seq.* *Lib.* 1. *p.* 118. *&* *seq.*

A little after *Alanus*'s time, and about the year 1209. *Peter de Vaucerney,* a plain down right man, and of unquestionable sincerity, distinguishes the *Vaudois* from the *Albigenses* by their proper characters, when he tells us, *The* Vaudois *were bad, but much less so than these other Hereticks,* who admitted the two principles, and all the consequences of that damnable Doctrine. *Not to mention,* proceeds this author, *their other infidelities; their error chiefly consisted in four heads:* viz, *their wearing sandals in imitation of the Apostles; their saying it was not lawful to swear for whatsoever cause; nor to put to death,* even malefactors; *lastly, in that they said that each one of them,* tho' but meer Lay-men, *provided he were sandals* (namely, as above seen, the mark of

LXXXII. Nor *Peter de Vaucerney.* *Pet. de Val-Cern. Hist. Albig. c.* 2. *Duch. Hist. Franc. T.* 5. *p.* 557.

Apostolick Poverty) *might consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ.* Here are in reality the specifick characters that denote the true spirit of the *Vaudois:* the affectation of Poverty in the sandals which were the badge of it; simplicity and apparent meekness in rejecting all oaths and capital punishments, and, what was more peculiar to this Sect, the belief that the *Laity*, provided they had embraced their pretended Apostolick Poverty and bore its badge, that is, provided they were of their Sect, might administer and consecrate the *Sacraments*, even *the Body of Jesus Christ.* The rest, as their Doctrine concerning prayer for the Dead, was comprised in the other infidelities of these *Heretics*, which this author forbears to particularize. Yet, had they rose up against the *Real* Presence, since the disturbance this matter had caused in the *Church*, not only this *Reformer* would not have forgotten it, but had been far from saying, *They consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ*, thereby [illegible] not to [illegible] to this point, except [illegible] to *Laymen* that power, which [illegible] acknowledged only to the *Priesthood.*

LXXXIII. *The Vaudois [illegible] Lombardy [illegible] Italy.* It appears that [illegible] *Lombardy* in [illegible] in the time of *Peter de Bruis* [illegible] saying, that [illegible] as though [illegible] the *Real Presence*, but retained to [illegible] of apparent submission to the [illegible] *Rome*, [illegible] they came to *Rome*, in order to obtain *the approbation* [illegible] *from the Holy See.* 'Twas then [illegible] Accost of *Lyons* saw them [illegible] report, with their leader *Bonnet.* They may be discover'd by the characters given them by this Chronicler: they were *the followers of* Lyons, *they took* Lucius III, *last pope in the list of Heretics*, who made themselves remarkable by the

affectation

affectation *of Apostolick Poverty with their shoes cut open at top*; who in *their private preachments and clandestine assemblies revil'd the Church and Priesthood.* The Pope judged the affectation was very odd which they discover'd *in these cut shoes, and in their Capuches like those of the religious, tho' contrary to their custom, they wore a long head of hair like Lay-men.* And truly, these out of the way affectations most commonly cover something bad; but especially men took offence at the liberty these new Apostles gave themselves, of going promiscuously together, men and women, in imitation, as they said, of the pious women that followed *Jesus Christ* and the *Apostles* to minister to them: but very different were the times, the persons, and the circumstances.

LXXXIV. The *Vaudois* begin to be treated like obstinate Hereticks.

It was, says the Abbot of *Ursperg*, with the design of giving to the *Church* men truly *poor*, more divested of earthly goods than these false *poor* of *Lions*, that the *Pope* afterwards approved the institute of the *Brother-Minors* assembled under the direction of St. *Francis*, the true pattern of humility, and miracle of the age; whilst these other *poor*, fraught with hatred against the *Church* and her Ministers, notwithstanding their fallacious humility, were rejected by the *Holy See*; insomuch that, afterwards, they were treated as contumacious and incorrigible Hereticks. Yet they made a shew of submission till the year 1212, which was the fifteenth of *Innocent* III. and fifty years since their beginning.

LXXXV. The *Church*'s patience in regard to the *Vaudois*.

Thence a judgment may be form'd of the Church's patience with respect to these Hereticks using no rigour against them for fifty years together, but endeavouring to reclaim them by Conferences. Besides that mention'd by *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcauld*, we also find another in *Peter de Vaucernay*, about the year 1206, where the

Vanitis were confounded: and lastly in 1212, when on their coming again to *Rome*, the Church proceeded no further against them than by rejecting their imposture. Three years after, *Innocent* III. held the great *Council of Lateran*, where, in his condemnation of Heretics, he particularly takes notice of *Men*, who, under pretext of piety, challenge to themselves the power of preaching without *Mission*: whereby he seems to have particularly pointed out the *Vanitis*, and distinguish'd them by the origin of their Schism.

LXXXVI. Here are seen evidently the beginnings of this Sect. 'Twas a kind of *Donatism*, but different from that impugn'd of old in *Africa*, in that the *African Donatists*, making the effect of the *Sacraments* depend on the virtue of the *Ministers*, reserved at least the power of conferring them to *Lay* Priests and Bishops; whereas these new *Donatists* attributed it, as above seen, to *Laymen* whose life was pure. Nor did they come to this excess but by degrees: for at first, they allow'd nothing to the Laity but preaching. They not only reprove Evil manners, which the Church no less condemn'd than they, but also many other things she approv'd of, as ceremonies, yet so, as not to [illegible] the *Sacraments* [illegible] for *Pyrhus*, who was very accurate in observing both the ancient spirit and the whole prepets of the Sect, [illegible], they [illegible] every thing employ'd by the Church to edify the faithful, [illegible] *Sacraments* alone; which shows, they [illegible] untouch'd. The same author relates moreover, that [illegible] *Lyon*, [illegible] *Pyrhus*, [illegible]

notion, our Lord's Body, and communicated himself together with his accomplices, altho' somewhat reprimanded for it by the rest.

LXXXVII. Their presumption increased by little and little. *Ibid.*

See how their presumption increased by degrees. The followers of *Waldo*, scandalized at the lives of several Priests, *believed themselves*, says the same *Pylicdorf*, *better absolved by their own people, seemingly to them more virtuous, than by the Ministers of the Church:* which proceeded from the opinion, wherein principally consisted the error of the *Vaudois*, that personal merit had greater influence in the *Sacraments* than Character and Order.

LXXXVIII. The *Vaudois*-Doctrine concerning Church goods. *V. sup. Pet. de Valle-Cern. Refut. error. Ibid. p.* 819.

But the *Vaudois* carried the merit necessary to *Ministers* of the Church so far as to have nothing in property; and this was one of their *Dogmata*, that to consecrate the *Eucharist*, it was requisite to be poor like them: so *that Catholick Priests were not the true and legitimate successors of Jesus Christ's Apostles, because they possess'd goods of their own*; which, they pretended, *Jesus Christ* had forbidden his Apostles.

LXXXIX. No error relating to the Sacraments.

Hitherto their whole error, in respect to the *Sacraments*, regarded only the persons impower'd to administer them: all the rest was left entire, as says expressly *Pylicdorf*. So they doubted not either of the *Real* Presence, or *Transubstantiation*; and on the contrary, this author hath but just inform'd us, that the *Lay-man* presuming to give Communion, did only believe *He had consecrated the Body of Jesus Christ.* After all, by the manner we have seen this Heresy begin, it seems as if *Waldo* had a good design at first; that the glory of poverty, which he boasted of, did seduce both him and his followers; that puffed up with the holiness of their lives, they swell'd with a bitter zeal against the *Clergy* and whole *Catholick Church*; that exasperated with

Chron. Car. in Hist. de Waldens.

their being prohibited to preach, they fell into *Schism*, and, as *Cop.* the *Centurist* speaks, *from Schism, into Heresy*.

XC. Manifest impostures of Protestant Historians, and of *Paul Perrin* concerning the beginning of the *Vaudois*. *Hist. des Vaudois*, Chap. 1.

From this fanatical account and the incontestable proofs with which it is manifestly supported, it is easy to judge, how much *Protestant* Historians have abused the publick credit by their relation of the origin of the *Vaudois*. *Paul Perrin*, author of their history printed at *Geneva*, says that in the year 1160, when the penalty of death was denounced against all who should disbelieve the *Real Presence*, Peter Waldo *a Citizen of* Lions *was one of the most courageous in opposing such an invention*. But nothing is more false: the article of the *Real Presence* had been defined a hundred years before, against *Berengarius*: nothing had been done anew relating to this article; and so far from *Waldo*'s opposing it, we have seen both him and all his disciples in the common Faith for fifty years together.

XCI. He Mistakes [illegible] *Paul* [illegible]

Mr. *de la Roque*, more learned than *Perrin*, is not more sincere, when he says, that *Peter Waldo having heard a little before of the Communion of the Latin Church, [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] ways of [illegible] and the [illegible] Doctrine*. But on the contrary we have seen, in the first place, that all the contemporary authors [illegible] have [illegible] the *Vaudois* and [illegible] *Spirit*, secondly, that all the [illegible] *Mazabrins*, [illegible] the *Publicans* in the world, [illegible] that there was any [illegible] in [illegible] which was not [illegible] the very [illegible] *Mazabrins*. Thus, notwithstanding all *Roque*'s [illegible]

more evidently defenceless, than to grant his abettors what they demand in his behalf, namely, that he *join'd himself in unity of Doctrine* with the *Albigenses*, or with such people as, at that time, were separated from the Communion of *Rome*. In a word, tho' *Waldo* should have united himself to guiltless Churches, his particular errors would not have allow'd any advantage to be drawn from this union, these errors being detested, not by *Catholicks* only, but also by the *Protestants*.

XCII. Whether the *Vaudois* afterwards changed their Doctrine about the *Eucharist*. *Conc. Tarrac. T.* xi *Conc. part.* 1. *An.* 1242. *p.* 593.

But let us proceed in the history of the *Vaudois*, and see whether our *Protestants* will discover in it any thing more favourable from the time these Hereticks broke off intirely from the *Church*. The first act we meet with against the *Vaudois*, since the great *Council* of *Lateran*, is a Canon of the *Council* of *Tarragona* describing the *Insabbatized*, as men, *that forbad to swear, and obey Ecclesiastick and Secular powers, and moreover to punish malefactors, and other such like things*, not the least word appearing in regard of the *Real* Presence, which not only would have been express'd, but also set foremost, had they denied it.

XCIII. Proof of the contrary from *Renier*.

At the same time and towards the year 1250. *Renier* so often quoted, who so carefully distinguishes the *Vaudois* or *Leonists* and the *poor men* of *Lions* from the *Albigenses*, sets down moreover all their errors, reducing them to these three heads: against the *Church*, against the *Sacraments* and *Saints*, and against *Church Ceremonies*. But so far from any thing appearing in all these articles against *Transubstantiation*, you there find expressly, amongst their errors, that *Transubstantiation ought to be made in the vulgar tongue*; *that a Priest could not consecrate in mortal sin*; that when a man communicated from the hand of

Ren. c. v. *T.* iv. *Bib. PP.* 2. *part. p.* 748. *Ibid.* 750.

of an unworthy Priest, *the Transubstantiation was not made in his hand that consecrated unworthily, but in the mouth of him who worthily received the Eucharist; that one might consecrate at table*, at common meals, and not in Churches only, conformably to those words of *Malachy*, *in every place there is sacrificing, and there is offer'd to my name a clean oblation*: which shews, they did not deny the sacrifice nor the oblation of the *Eucharist*; and that, if they rejected the *Mass*, 'twas on account of the ceremonies, making it only to consist in *the words of Jesus Christ pronounced in the vulgar tongue*. Thereby it clearly appears, they admitted *Transubstantiation*, and in nothing differ'd from the Church's Doctrine as to the substance of this *Sacrament*: but said only, it could not be consecrated by evil Priests, and might be by good Lay-men, according to these fundamental maxims of their Sect, which *Reiner* is always exact in observing, *That every good Lay-man is a Priest, and the prayer of an evil Priest avail'd nothing*: whence also they concluded, the *Consecration* by an evil Priest is nothing worth. It's likewise to be seen in other authors, that, according to their principles, *A man, without being a Priest, might consecrate and administer the Sacrament of Penance; and every Lay-man, even Women, ought to preach.*

Malach. c. xi.

Rein. l. 4. c. 11.

Pelagius. Petrobrus. Arnaldus. Ecclesiast. Hist. t. 7. p. 751.

XCIV. We find also in the catalogue of their errors, as well in *Reiner* as other authors, *That it is not lawful for Clergymen*, namely, the Ministers of the Church, *To have goods; that neither lands, nor people, ought to be held*; which aims at the obligation of living all in common, and establishing, as necessary, this pretended Apostolick Poverty, which their Heresiarch gloried in; *That every [illegible] Princes and Judges are [illegible], because they [illegible]*

Ecclesiast. Hist. t. 7. p. 751.

Rein. l. 4. c. 8.

Ibid. c. 11.

A [illegible]

demn malefactors contrary to these words: Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; *and again*; let both grow together until the harvest. Thus did these hypocrites abuse the *Scripture*, and with their counterfeited lenity subvert the whole foundation of Church and State.

Ind. err. Ibi. 831. 9. 23. *Rom.* xii. 19. *Matth.* xiii. 30.

XCV. Another list, and no mention of their erring in regard of the *Eucharist*.

We find in *Pyliedorf*, a hundred years after, an ample refutation of the *Vaudois* article by article, without appearance of the least opposition in their Doctrine to the *Real* Presence or *Transubstantiation*. On the contrary, it always appears in this author, as in the rest, that the Lay-men of this Sect *made the Body of Jesus Christ*, altho' with fear and reserve in the country wherein he wrote; nor, in short, does he observe any kind of error in these Hereticks relating to the *Eucharist*, except, that *evil Priests* did not make it, *any more than the other Sacraments*.

Pylied. cont. Wald. T. iv. *Bib. PP.* 2. *part.* 778. & *seq.*

Finally, in all the lists we have of their errors, whether in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or in the Inquisitor *Emerick*, we meet with nothing against the *Real* Presence, altho' the least differences betwixt these Hereticks and us, the minutest articles whereon they are to be interrogated, be there specified; on the contrary, *Emerick* the Inquisitor thus reports their error on the *Eucharist*: *They will have it that the Bread is not transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, if the Priest be a sinner.* Which clearly evidences two things; first, that they believed *Transubstantiation*; and secondly, believed the Sacraments depended on the *sanctity* of the Ministers.

An. 1395. *Ibi. c.* 30. *p.* 823. *Ibid. c.* 1. *Ibid. c.* 16. 18.

XCVI. Another list.

Bib. PP. T. iv. 2. *part. p.* 820. 832. 836.

You find in the same list all the errors of the *Vaudois* we have already mention'd. The errors of the new *Manicheans*, whom we have shewn were the same with those of the *Albigenses*, are also related apart in the same book. It's plain from thence, that these two Sects are utterly distinct,

Director. part. 2. *q.* 14. *p.* 279. *Ibid. p.* xiii. *p.* 273.

ſtinct, nor is there any thing amongſt the *Vaudois* errors that tavours of *Manicheiſm*, which the other hiſt abounds with.

XCVII. Demonſtration that the *Vaudois* did not in the leaſt ever deny *Tranſubſtantiation*.

But to return to *Tranſubſtantiation*; whence could it proceed, that the *Cursinal* ſhould have ſpared the *Vaudois* in a point of ſo eſſential a nature, they who were ſo [illegible] in expoſing even the leaſt of their errors? Was it perchance that theſe matters, as [illegible] of the *Euchariſt*, were not of ſufficient importance, or not ſufficiently known, after *Berengarius*'s condemnation by ſo many *Councils*? Was it the deſire of keeping the people ignorant that this Myſtery was attack'd? But they were not afraid to report the much greater blaſphemies of the *Albigenſes*, even againſt this Myſtery. Nothing was conceal'd from the people of what the *Vaudois* ſaid, the moſt ſhocking againſt the Church of *Rome*, as that ſhe was *The Harlot mention'd in the* Revelations; *her Pope, the Chief of thoſe that err'd*, *her Prelates and Religious, Scribes and Phariſees*. Their exceſſes were pitied, but never kept private; and had they rejected the Church's Faith in regard of the *Euchariſt*, they would have been upbraided with it.

Rev. c. 4. Fol. 750. Emerit. Ibid.

XCVIII. [illegible]

Further, in the laſt age, in [illegible] *Claude Seyſel* [illegible] for his learning and employs under *Lewis* XII. and *Francis* I. and raiſed by his merit to the Archbiſhopprick of *Turin*; in the ſearch he made after theſe Heretics hidden in the valleys of his *Diocese*, in order to unite them to his flock, [illegible] in the minuteſt manner all their errors, like a faithful ſhepherd will [illegible] of the ſtubborn [illegible] and we [illegible] that the laſt [illegible] of [illegible] Will there be [illegible] of ſuch error, that

that *They made the authority of ecclesiastical ministry to depend on personal merit*; thence concluding, that *they ought not to obey the Pope, nor Bishops, because being wicked, and not imitating the lives of the Apostles, they have no authority from God, either to consecrate, or absolve; and as to themselves, they alone had this power, because they observed the law of Jesus Christ; that the Church was no where but amongst them, and the See of* Rome *was that Harlot of the* Revelations, *and the fountain-head of all errors.* This is what that great *Archbishop* says of the *Vaudois* in his Diocese. The Minister *Aubertin* is astonish'd that in so exact an account as he gives of their errors, it is not discover'd, they rejected either the *Real* Presence or *Transubstantiation*; nor any other reply can he make to it, than that this Prelate, who had so strenuously confuted them in all other points, was, in this, conscious of his too great weakness to resist them: as if so learned and eloquent a man could not at least transcribe what so many other learned *Catholicks* had wrote on this subject. Instead therefore of so miserable a shift, *Aubertin* ought to have acknowledged, that if so accurate, so knowing a person, did not reproach the *Vaudois* with this error, 'twas in reality because he had discover'd none such amongst them: wherein there is nothing particular as to *Seyssel*, since all the other authors have no more accused them of it than this Archbishop.

f. 1. & *seq.* *Ibid. f.* 10. 11.

Lib. III. *de Sacr. Euch. p.* 986. *Col.* 2. *Ibid.* 987.

XCIX *Aubertin's* vain objection *Ibid. p.* 55. 56.

Nevertheless, *Aubertin* triumphs at a passage of the same *Seyssel*, where he says, *He did not think it worth his while to relate what some of that Sect, to shew themselves more learned than the rest, prattled, or rallied rather than discoursed, concerning the substance and truth of the Eucharistick Sacrament, because, what they vented*

by

by way of secret, was so high, that the most expert Divines could have comprehend it. But so far are these words of *Seyssel* from shewing, the *Real* Presence was denied by the *Vaudois*, that I should on the contrary conclude from them, that some amongst them pretended to subtilize in expounding it. And should it be allow'd (yet gratuitously and without any kind of reason, since *Seyssel* speaks not a word of it) that these high notions entertain'd by the *Vaudois*, relating to the *Eucharist*, regarded the *Real absence*, to wit, a thing the least sublime of any in the world, and the most suited to carnal sense; yet then, it is nevertheless manifest that *Seyssel* does not report here the *belief* of all, but the babble and idle discourse *of some*: so that, on all hands, nothing is more certain than what I have advanced; that the *Vaudois* never were reproach'd with rejecting *Transubstantiation*; but, on the contrary, had always been supposed to believe it.

C. Another proof from *Seyssel*, that the *Vaudois* believed *Transubstantiation* *Hist. of* 13

Accordingly the same *Seyssel*, introducing a *Vaudois* summing up all his reasons, put these words into his mouth against a wicked Priest and Bishop: *How can the Bishops and Priests, enemies to God, render God propitious? How can he, that is bound to the Keys of Heaven, have the Keys of sin? [illegible] other actions [illegible] Jesus Christ [illegible], [illegible] under the [illegible] Bread and Wine, and after [illegible] that person, [illegible] utterly [illegible]?* It is then full manifest, their error consists in a *Denial* in, and nothing but the Priest's [illegible] the *Bread* and *Wine* not being changed into the *Body* and *Blood* of *Jesus Christ*.

C I. Interrogatory of the

And what leaves no kind of doubt on this head is, what may be seen [illegible] among the

the manuſcripts of Mr. *de Thou*, collected together in the valuable library of the *Marquis* of *Seignelay*: there, I ſay, may be ſeen the inqueſts, in the original, juridically made againſt the *Vaudois* of *Pragelas* and the other valleys in 1495, collected in two great volumes: wherein you have the examination of one *Thomas Quoti* of *Pragelas*, who being ask'd whether the *Barbes* (their Prieſts) taught them to believe the Sacrament of the Altar, anſwers, *That the* Barbes *both preach and teach that when a Chaplain, who is in orders, utters the words of Conſecration on the Altar, he conſecrates the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that a true change is wrought of the Bread into the true Body*, and ſays, *moreover, that Prayer made at home, or on the road, is every whit as good as in the Church.* Conformably to this Doctrine, the ſame *Quoti* anſwers at two ſeveral times, *That he received every year, at* Eaſter, *the Body of Jeſus Chriſt; and the* Barbes *taught them, that, in order to receive it, they ought to have been well ſhriev'd, and rather by the* Barbes *than by the Chaplains*, meaning the Prieſts.

Vaudois, in the library of the *Marquis* of *Seignelay*. Two Volumes mark'd 1769. mark'd 1770.

CII. Sequel of the ſame examination.

The reaſon of this preference is derived from the ſo often repeated principles of the *Vaudois*; and it is purſuant to theſe principles the ſame perſon anſwers, *That the gentlemen of the Church-miniſtry led a life too large, but the* Barbes *led a holy and upright life.* And in another anſwer, *That the* Barbes *led the life of St.* Peter, *and had the power of abſolving from ſins, and this was his belief; and if the Pope did not lead a holy life, he had no power of abſolving.* For this reaſon the ſame *Quoti* anſwers again in another place, *That he had given credit, without any doubting, rather to the diſcourſes of the* Barbes *than to thoſe of the Chaplains, becauſe, in thoſe times, no Eccleſiaſtick, no Cardinal, no Biſhop nor Prieſt.*

Priest, led the life of the Apostles; and therefore it was better believing the Barbes *who were good, than an Ecclesiastick that was not so.*

CIII. Sequel.

It were superfluous to relate the other examinations, the same language appearing throughout, as well in respect of the *Real* Presence as of all the rest; and especially it's repeated there continually, *That the* Barbes *behaved in the world like the imitators of Jesus Christ, and had more power than the Priests of the Church of* Rome, *who lived too much at large.*

CIV. Necessity of Confession.

Nothing is repeated there so much as these *Dogmata, That you ought to confess your sins; that they confessed to the* Barbes, *who had power of absolving them; that they confessed kneeling; that at each Confession they gave a* quart *a certain piece of money; that the* Barbes *imposed Penances on them which generally did not exceed a* Pater *and* Credo, *but the* Ave Mary *was never imposed; that they forbad them all oaths whatsoever, and taught them neither to sue for help from the Saints, nor to pray for the Dead.* Here is enough whereby to discover the principal tenets and genius of the Sect; further than this, to expect to meet with order and one constant form in such odd opinions, in all times and all places, were to be deceived.

CV. Sequel of the same subject.

Pyrad. c. 1. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. fol. f. 280. Ind. Err. Inq. Tol. n. 12. Fr. Hist. Inq.

I don't find they were interrogated concerning Sacraments administred by the generality of Laymen, whether because the Inquisitors were not apprised of this custom, or that the *Laymen* had at length forsaken it. And indeed we have observed, it was not without difficulty and contradiction first introduced amongst them with regard to the Eucharist. But as for *Confession*, nothing is more claimed in the Sect, than the right good Lay-men have to it. *A good Lay-man* said they, *hath power to absolve*; they all glorried

in forgiving sins by imposition of hands; they heard Confessions; enjoin'd Penances; and lest such an extraordinary practice should be discover'd, they very privately received Confessions, and those of women even in cellars, in caverns, and other unfrequented places: they preach'd clandestinly in corners of houses, and often in the night-time. *Pylicd. Ibi. c. 1. p. 780. Ibi. c. 8. p. 782. 820.*

CVI. The *Vaudois* exteriorly did the duties of *Catholicks.*

But what cannot be too much remark'd is, that altho' they had such an opinion of us as we have seen, yet they frequented our assemblies: *There they offer*, says *Renier*, *there they confess, there they communicate, but with dissimulation.* The reason was, in short, whatever they might say, because *some distrust remain'd in them of the Communion they practised among themselves.* Wherefore, *they came to communicate in the Church when the throng was greatest, for fear of discovery. Many also remain'd even four, nay six years without communicating, concealing themselves either in villages, or towns, at* Easter *time, lest notice should be taken of them. They also judged it advisable to communicate in the Church, but at* Easter *only, and under this appearance they pass'd for Christians.* This is what the ancient authors speak of them, and what also frequently may be found in the interrogatories above mention'd. *Being asked whether he made his Confession to the Parish-Priest, and discover'd his Sect to him; his answer was, that he confessed yearly to him, but did not mention his being a* Vaudois, *which the* Barbes *had forbid discovering.* They answer also as above, *that every year they communicated at* Easter, *and received the Body of Jesus Christ; and that the* Barbes *warn'd them of the necessity, before they received, of having made a good Confession.* Observe, there is no mention here made but of the Body alone, and of one only *Species*; as, since the *Council* of *Constance*, it was then given

Ren. Ibi. c. v. p. 752. Ibid. 7. p. 765. Ind. Err. n. 12. 13. Ibid. 832.

Pylicd. c. 25. Ibid. 796. Interrogat. of Quoti and others. Ibid.

given over all the Church, the *Barbes* never thinking all this while of condemning it. An old author hath observed, *They very rarely receive from their teachers either Baptism or Christ's Body, but as well teachers as simple believers went to seek them at the Priests hands.* Nor indeed do we conceive how they could have acted otherwise in regard to *baptism* without discovering themselves, for it would soon have been taken notice of, had they not brought their children to *Church*, for which they would have been call'd to an account. Thus, separated in sentiments from the *Catholick* Church, these Hypocrites, as far as they were able, shew'd themselves externally of the same Faith with others, and exhibited no act of Religion in publick which did not belye their Doctrine.

Pilkington Rev. p. 54. f. 79b.

CVII. Whether the *Vaudois* [illegible] *Sacraments* [illegible]

The *Protestants* may perceive by this example what kind of men those hidden faithful before the Reformation were, whom they extol so much, and who had not bent a knee to *Baal*. It might be doubted whether the *Vaudois* but discarded any of the seven Sacraments. And 'tis already manifest, they were not accused of denying so much as one at the beginning; on the contrary, an author has been produced, who upbraiding them with their changes, excepts the Sacraments. Tho's *Reiner* speaks of, might be suspected of varying in this matter, he seems to say, they rejected not only *Orders*, but also *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Unction*: but it's visible, he mentions each only as *Catholick* conferr'd. For as to *Confirmation*, *Reiner*, who makes them reject its ministry, *They have Christ's Faith, but not that Bishop to confirm it.* For this reason, because they were for allowing to good Laymen the power of administering this as well as the other *Sacraments*. Wherefore these same Here-

Reiner f. 55. [illegible] Bib.

ticks,

ticks, mention'd as rejecting *Confirmation*, boast a little after *of giving the Holy Ghost by laying on of hands*; the which is, in other words, the very substance of this Sacrament. *Ibid.* 751.

CVIII. *Extreme-Unction.* *p.* 751.

In regard to *Extreme-Unction*, this is what *Renier* says of it: *They reject the Sacrament of Unction, as if given to the rich only, and because many Priests are necessary thereto*: words which sufficiently evince that its nullity, which they pretended was amongst us, proceeded from imaginary abuses, not from the nature of the thing. Besides, St. *James* having injoin'd to call in the *Priests* in the plural number, these cavillers were for believing that *Unction*, given by a single person, as commonly practised amongst us even so long ago, was not sufficient, and this bad pretext served for their neglecting it. *James* v. 14.

CIX. What was the ablution *Renier* speaks of in Baptism. *Ibid.*

As for *Baptism*, notwithstanding these ignorant Hereticks had cast off its most ancient Ceremonies with contempt, there is no doubt but they received it. One might only be surprised at *Renier*'s words as uttered by the *Vaudois*, *that Ablution given to children is of no advantage to them.* But, whereas this Ablution is in the list of those Ceremonies of *Baptism*, which were disapproved by these Hereticks, it's plain, he speaks of the wine given to children after their Baptism: a custom that may be still seen in many ancient *Rituals* near about that time, and which was a remnant of the Communion heretofore administred to them under the liquid *species* only. This wine, put into the Chalice to be given these children, was call'd *Ablution*, because this action resembled the *Ablution* taken by the Priest at *Mass*. Again, this word *Ablution* is not to be found in *Renier* as signifying *Baptism*: and at all events, if men will persist to have it signify this *Sacrament*, all they could conclude from it

would be for the worst, *viz.* that *Renier's Vaudois* accounted as null whatever *Baptism* was given by unworthy Ministers, such as they believed all our Priests were: an error so conformable to the principles of the Sect, that the *Vaudois*, whom we have seen approve our *Baptism*, could not do it without running counter to their own Doctrine.

CX. Confession. Here then already are three *Sacraments* which the *Vaudois* approved in the main, *Baptism*, *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Unction*. We have the whole Sacrament of *Penance* in their private Confession, in the Penances imposed by them, in the absolution received for the remission of sins; and if they said, oral Confession was not always necessary when Contrition was in the heart; they said true in the main and in certain cases, altho' frequently, as above instanced, they abused this maxim by too long deferring their Confession.

CXI. The Eucharist. There was a Sect call'd the *Sisidenses*, *who differ'd little or nothing from the* Vaudois, says *Renier*, *but in that they received the Eucharist*. Not that he meant, the *Vaudois* or *poor men* of *Lions* did not receive it, he having shewn, on the contrary, that they received even *Transubstantiation*: but he means only, they had no extreme repugnance to receive it from the hands of our Priests, whereas these others made less difficulty in it, or perchance, none at all.

CXII. *Marriage.* Whether *Renier* hath or hath not accused the *Vaudois* Ed. 751. *Protestants* accuse *Renier* of calumniating the *Vaudois*, by reproaching them *that they condemn'd Marriage*; but these authors mutilate his words, which here you have entire: *They condemn the Sacrament of Marriage, in saying, married people sin mortally when they are Married for any other end than to have children*; whereby *Renier* would observe only the error of those

proud

proud Hereticks, who, to ſhew themſelves above human infirmity, would not admit the ſecondary end of Marriage, namely, its ſerving as a remedy againſt concupiſcence? 'twas then in this reſpect only that he accuſed theſe Hereticks of condemning Marriage, to wit, of condemning this neceſſary part, and making that *a mortal ſin*, which the grace of ſo holy a ſtate exempts from crime.

CXIII. Demonſtration that the Catholicks were neither ignorant of, nor diſſembled the Doctrine of the *Vaudois*.

It's now ſeen what was the Doctrine of the *Vaudois* or *poor men* of *Lions*. The *Catholicks* cannot be accuſed, either of not knowing it, ſince they dwelt and converſed amongſt them and daily received their abjurations; or, of neglecting to inform themſelves, ſince on the contrary, they applied themſelves with ſo much care to report its minuteſt points; or infine, of calumniating them, ſince we have ſeen they were ſo exact, not only in diſtinguiſhing the *Vaudois* from the *Cathari* and the reſt of *Manicheans*, but alſo in acquainting us with all the temperaments applied by ſome of them to the extravagances of others; and in a word, of relating to us with ſo much ſincerity what was commendable in their manners, that their partiſans even now a-days take advantage from it. For we have ſeen, they did not diſſemble the ſpecious appearances at *Waldo*'s firſt ſetting out, nor the firſt ſimplicity of his followers. *Renier*, who ſo much blames them, ſticks not to ſay, *That they lived juſtly before men; that they believed of God what was fitting to believe, and all that was contain'd in the Creed:* that they were regular in their deportment, modeſt in their dreſs, juſt in their dealings, chaſte in their Marriages, abſtemious in their diet, and ſo of the reſt, as it is well known. We ſhall have a word to ſay on this teſtimony of *Renier*; but, in the interim, we

Ibid. c. iv. *p.* 749. *Ibid.* vii. *p.* 765

see he rather flatters, as I may say, than calumniates the *Vaudois*; and therefore it cannot be doubted that what he says besides of these Heretickes is true. And tho' we should suppose with the Ministers, that Catholick authors, egg'd on by the hatred they had conceived against them, charged them with calumnies; this is a new proof of what we have but just said concerning their Doctrine, because finally, had the *Vaudois* stood in opposition to *Transubstantiation* and the Adoration of the *Eucharist* at a time when our adversaries agree it was so well establish'd amongst us, the *Catholicks*, they represent so inclined to load them with false crimes, would never have fail'd reproaching them with what was so true.

CXIV. Now then that we know the whole Doctrine of the *Vaudois*, we may divide it into three sorts of articles. Some there are which we detest together with the *Protestants*: some that we approve, and *Protestants* reject: others that they approve, and we condemn.

CXV. The articles we condemn in common are, in the first place, that Doctrine so injurious to the *Sacraments*, which makes their validity depend on the holiness of their Ministers; secondly, that of rendering the administration of the Sacraments common to *Priests* and *Laity* without distinction; next, that of forbidding oaths in all cases whatsoever, thereby condemning not only St. *Paul* the Apostle, but even God himself who has swore; lastly, that of condemning the just punishments of malefactors, and authorizing all crimes by impunity.

CXVI. The articles we approve, and the *Protestants* reject, are [illegible] in the manner above [illegible] is still more important,

that

that of the *Real* Presence and *Transubstantiation*. So many articles which the *Protestants* detest either with us, or, contrary to our sentiments, in the *Vaudois*, pass under the cover of five or six points, wherein these same *Vaudois* speak to their liking; and notwithstanding their Hypocrisy and all their errors, these Hereticks are made to be their ancestors. *in the Vaudois, and Protestants condemn.*

Such was the state of this Sect till the time of the new *Reformation*. For all the noise this made ever since the year 1517, the *Vaudois*, whom we have seen till that date abiding in all the sentiments of their ancestors, still remain'd unalter'd. At length in 1530, after much suffering, whether sollicited to it, or taking it into their heads themselves, they thought fit to make them their protectors, whom like themselves they had heard exclaim against the Pope so many years. Those who had withdrawn for near two hundred years, as remarks *Seyssel*, into the mountains of *Savoy* and *Dauphiny*, consulted *Bucer* and the *Swiss* their neighbours. With much commendation which they received, *Gilles* one of their Historians acquaints us, they received also admonishments concerning three defects observed amongst them. The first related to *the decision of certain points of Doctrine*; the second, to the establishment of the order of discipline and ecclesiastical assemblies, to the end they might be held more openly; the third invited them, no longer to permit those that desired to be accounted members of their Churches, *To be present at Mass, or to adhere, in any kind, to Papal superstitions, or to acknowledge the Priests of the Roman Church for Pastors, or to make use of their ministry.*

CXVII. *The Vaudois have changed their Doctrine since Luther's and Calvin's time.*

Seyssel.

Hist. Eccl. des Eglises Prot. de Pied. Gilles. ch. 5.

There needs no more to confirm every thing we have said, concerning the state of these wretched

CXVIII. *New articles proposed to*

the *Vaudois* by the *Protestants*.

wretched Churches, which concealed their *Faith* and *Worship* under a contrary profession. On these advertisements of *Bucer* and *Oecolampadius*, the same *Gilles* assures us, new articles were proposed to the *Vaudois*. He owns he does not report them all: but here are five or six of such as he specifies, which sufficiently discover the ancient spirit of the Sect. For in order to reform the *Vaudois* to the *Protestant* mode, it was necessary to make them say, *That a Christian may swear lawfully; that auricular Confession is not commanded of God; that a Christian may lawfully exercise the office of Magistrate over other Christians; that there is no determined time for fasting; that the Minister may possess something in particular wherewith to maintain his family, without prejudice to Apostolick community; that Jesus Christ hath appointed but two Sacraments, Baptism and the holy Eucharist.* Hereby appears a part of what was necessarily to be reform'd in the *Vaudois*, in order to make them *Zwinglians* or *Calvinists*, and, amongst the rest, one of the corrections was to admit but two *Sacraments*. It was also necessary to hint to them a word or two concerning *Predestination*, which, sure enough, they had heard but little of; and they were inform'd as to this new *Dogma*, which was then like the soul of the *Reformation*, *that whosever cannot [illegible], denies Predestination.* It appears by these same articles that, in process of time, the *Vaudois* had fallen into new errors, since it was requisite to teach them, *They were to cease from earthly labours on the Sabbath day, in order to attend Gospel exercises*; and again, *that it is not lawful for Christians to serve [illegible] in his enemy.* These two articles shew the barbarisms and barbarity, which these *Vaudois* Converts (the main support, it seems, of decayed Christianity

Ibid.

Ibid.

ſtianity) were fallen into, at the time the *Proteſtants* reform'd them: and this confirms what *Seyſſel* ſays of them, that *they were a baſe and beſtial race of men, that harály could diſtinguiſh, by reaſon, whether they were men or brutes, alive or dead.* Such, by *Gilles*'s account, were the articles of Reformation propoſed to the *Vaudois* towards incorporating them with the *Proteſtants.* If *Gilles* mention'd no more of them, it might either proceed from a fear of manifeſting too great an oppoſition betwixt the *Vaudois* and *Calviniſts*, of whom the deſign then was to make but one Communion, or becauſe this was all the *Vaudois* could be drawn to at that time. Be that as it will, he owns nevertheleſs, they could not come to an agreement, becauſe *Some of the* Barbes were of opinion, that *by aſſenting to all theſe concluſions*, they *ſhould diſhonour the memory of thoſe, who had ſo very proſperouſly conducted thoſe Churches to that time.* Thus, it's manifeſt, the deſign of the *Proteſtants* was, not to follow the *Vaudois*, but to make them change and reform, to their faſhion.

Seyſſ. f. 38

Gill. Ibid. ch. v.

CXIX. Conference of the *Vaudois* with *Oecolampadius.* *Ann. Eccl. decad.* 2. *An.* 1530. *a. p.* 294. *ad* 306. *Heidelb.*

During this negotiation with the Miniſters of *Strasburg* and *Baſil*, two of the *Vaudois* deputies had a long Conference with *Oecolampadius*, which *Abraham Scultet* a Proteſtant Hiſtorian relates whole and intire in his *Evangelical Annals*, and declares he had tranſcribed it word for word.

One of the deputies opens the converſation, by owning that the Miniſters, of which number he was, *being prodigiouſly ignorant, were incapable of teaching the people: that they lived by alms and labour, poor ſhepherds or husbandmen, the cauſe of their profound ignorance and incapacity: that they were not married, nor lived always very chaſtly; but when they had been caught tripping, they were expell'd the company of the reſt:* that

that it was not the Ministers, but the Priests of the Roman Church who administred the Sacraments to the Vaudois; *but that their Ministers made them ask pardon of God for receiving the Sacraments from those Priests, because forced to it; moreover, admonish'd them not to adhere to the Ceremonies of Antichrist: that they practised auricular Confession, and, till then, had always own'd seven Sacraments, wherein, they heard say, they were very much mistaken.* They proceed to give an account how they rejected the *Mass*, *Purgatory*, and the *Invocation* of Saints, and in order to clear up their doubts, they propose the following queries: *Whether or no it be lawful for Magistrates to put Criminals to death, by reason God hath said, I will not the death of the sinner.* But ask'd at the same time, *If it were not allowable in them to kill the false brethren who inform'd against them to Catholicks, because, they having no jurisdiction among them, there was no other way to keep them in awe: whether the human and civil laws, by which the world was govern'd, were good, the Scripture having said, that the laws of men are vain: whether Churchmen might receive donations and have any thing of their own: whether it were lawful to swear: whether the distinction now made of venial, criminal, and mortal sin, were good: whether all children, of whatsoever nation, be saved in the Merits of Jesus Christ; and whether those that, of whatsoever nation, not having Faith, may not be saved: [illegible] Merits and [illegible] Jesus Christ; and [illegible] the same [illegible]* After all these queries, which to clear up [illegible] we have lost of the [illegible] and the hand [illegible] were at last taken into, their Deputy spoke in

this.

theſe terms: *Nothing has ſo much diſturb'd us, weak and ſimple as we are, as what I have read in* Luther *concerning Free-will and Predeſtination; for we believe, all men have naturally ſome power and ſtrength, which, excited by God, might do ſomething, conformaly to thoſe words,* behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock; *and whoſoever would not open, ſhould receive according to his works: but if the thing be not ſo, I do not ſee, as ſays* Eraſmus, *of what uſe the commandments are. As for Predeſtination, we believe that God hath foreſeen from all eternity thoſe that were to be ſaved or damn'd, and that he had made all men in order to be ſaved, and the reprobate become ſuch thro' their own fault: but ſhould all come to paſs of neceſſity, as* Luther *ſays, and the predeſtinated not have it in their power to turn reprobate, nor contrary wiſe; to what end ſo much preaching and ſo much writing, ſince, every thing happening by neceſſity, matters never will be better or worſe?* Whatever ignorance may appear throughout this diſcourſe, it's plain, theſe ignorant people, with all their ruſticity, ſpoke better than thoſe they had choſen for *Reformers*; and here are the men, forſooth, they preſent us as the remains and refuge of Chriſtianity.

We find nothing here particular relating to the *Euchariſt*; which makes it likely, the whole of the Conference was not related; nor is it difficult to gueſs the reaſon. 'Twas in ſhort, becauſe the *Vaudois* were, as above ſeen, greater *Papiſts* on this head than the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans* deſired. Moreover, this Deputy ſpeaks nothing to *Oecolampadius* of any *Confeſſion* of *Faith* as in uſe amongſt them: and we have already ſeen that even *Beza* reports none but that which the *Vaudois* made in 1541, ſo long after *Luther* and *Calvin*. Which ſhews manifeſtly, the

S. l. 2. n. 4.

the *Confessions* of *Faith* produced by them, as of the ancient *Vaudois*, can be but very modern, as we shall soon discover.

CXX. The *Vaudois* remote from *Calvinists*, as proved from *Crespin*.

After all these Conferences with those of *Strasburg* and *Basle* in 1536. *Geneva* was consulted by her neighbours the *Vaudois*; and then it was their society with the *Calvinists* commenced, by the instructions of *Farel* Minister of *Geneva*. But we need only hear the *Calvinists* themselves, to be convinc'd how far remote the *Vaudois* were from their *Reformation*. *Crespin*, in his history of Martyrs, says, *that* those of *Angrogne*, by a long succession, and as from father to son, had retain'd some purity of Doctrine. But to shew how small, even in their estimate, was this purity of Doctrine, he says in another place, speaking of the *Vaudois* of *Merindol*, that THE VERY LITTLE TRUE LIGHT THEY HAD, *they endeavour'd to increase from day to day, by dispatching people on all sides, even to a great distance off, wheresoever they heard some ray of light did discover itself.* And he agrees moreover in another place, that *their Ministers, who taught them in private, did not do it with that purity as was requisite: forasmuch as, ignorance having overflow'd the whole universe, and God having a right to let men go astray as he did, like brute beasts, 'tis no wonder, these poor men had not so pure a Doctrine as they have since enjoy'd, and at this day, more than ever.* These last words shew the pains the *Calvinists* were at, since the year 1536, to lead the *Vaudois* whither they had a mind; and after all, 'tis but too manifest that, from that time, this Sect is not to be look'd on as persisting in her ancient Doctrine, but as reform'd by the *Calvinists*.

Crespin. Hist. des Martyrs in 1536. *f.* 111.

In 1543 *f.* 113.

In 1561. *f.* 532.

We learn as much from *Beza*, tho' with a little more precaution, which he owns in his description

description of them, *That the purity of Doctrine was somewhat adulterated by the Vaudois.* And in his history, that *in process of time, they had somewhat swerv'd from Piety and Doctrine.* Afterwards he speaks more openly, confessing that *In a long series of time the purity of Doctrine had been greatly adulterated by their Ministers,* insomuch that they became sensible, by the ministry *of* Oecolampadius, *of* Bucer, *and others, how, by little and little, the purity of Doctrine had not remain'd amongst them, and gave orders, by sending to their brethren in* Calabria, *to put all things in a better state.*

Liv. 1. p. 23. 1536.

Ibid. p. 35. 36. 1544.

CXXII. The change of the *Calabrian Vaudois*, and their intire extinction.

These brethren of *Calabria* were, like them, fugitives, who, according to the maxims of the Sect, held their assemblies, as *Gilles* reports, *In the most secret manner it was possible,* AND DISSEMBLED MANY THINGS *against their will.* What this Minister endeavours to hide under these words, you must understand, was, that the *Vaudois* of *Calabria*, after the example of all the rest of them, perform'd all the external duties of good *Catholicks*; and I leave you to judge whether they could have been exempt from it in that country, considering what we have seen of their dissimulation in the valleys of *Pragelas* and *Angrogne.* Accordingly *Gilles* acquaints us, how that these *Calabrians*, press'd at last to withdraw from Church-assemblies, yet not able to take the resolution, tho' advised to it by this Minister, *of forsaking so fine a country*, were soon abolish'd.

Gilles. ch. 3. & 29.

CXXIII. The present *Vaudois* are not the predecessors, but followers of the *Calvinists*.

Thus expired the *Vaudois.* As they had only subsisted by concealing what they were, they fell as soon as ever they resolved to declare themselves; for those that afterwards remain'd under that name, it's plain, were nothing else but *Calvinists*, whom *Farel* and the other Ministers of

Geneva

Geneva had form'd to their mode: so that these *Vaudois*, whom they make their *Ancestors* and *Predecessors*, to speak the truth, are nothing but their *Successors*, and new disciples whom they have proselyted to their Faith.

CXXIV. No advantage to be derived from the *Vaudois* in behalf of the *Calvinists*.

But after all, what help can these *Vaudois*, by whom they seek to justify themselves, afford our *Calvinists?* It's manifest by this history that *Waldo* and his disciples were all meer Lay-men, who thrust themselves in to preach, without orders, without mission, and afterwards to administer the Sacraments. They separated from the Church by a manifest error, detested as much by *Protestants* as *Catholicks*, which was that of *Donatism*; nay, this *Donatism* of the *Vaudois* is beyond comparison much worse than the *African Donatism* of old, so strongly confuted by St. *Austin*. Those *Donatists* of *Africa* said, indeed, that none but a holy person could validly administer the Sacraments: but they did not arrive at the extravagance of the *Vaudois*, to allow the administration of the Sacraments as well to holy *Laymen* as holy *Priests*. If the *African Donatists* pretended that the Catholick Bishops and Priests had forfeited their ministry by their crimes, they at least accused them of crimes, which were actually reproved by the law of God. But our new *Donatists* separate themselves from the whole Catholick Clergy, and would have it, they were degraded from their Orders for not observing their pretended Apostolick Poverty, which, at most, was but a counsel. For this was the origin of the Sect, and what we have seen it stood to, as long as it persisted in its first belief. Who therefore does not see that such a Sect is rotten at bottom, but hypocrisy boasting her poverty and other virtues, and making the Sacraments depend, not on the efficacy *Jesus Christ* has

given

given them, but on man's merits. And after all, these new Doctors, from whom the *Calvinists* derive their succession, Whence came they themselves, and who sent them? Puzzled at this query no less than the *Protestants*, like them they went in quest of *Predecessors*, and here is the fable trump'd up by them. They were told, that in the time of St. *Sylvester*, when *Constantine* endow'd the Churches with revenues, *One of this Pope's companions would not consent to it, and withdrew from his Communion, abiding together with them that followed him, in the way of poverty; and then it was the Church failed in* Sylvester *and his adherents, and remained with them.* Let not this be call'd a calumny invented by the enemies of the *Vaudois*, for we have seen, that the authors, who unanimously report it, had no design of calumniating them. This fable was still in vogue in *Seyssel*'s time. The vulgar were then told, *This Sect had taken its rise from a certain man call'd* Leo, *a very religious person, in the time of* Constantine *the Great, who detesting the avarice of* Sylvester, *and* Constantine's *excessive liberality, chose rather to follow the poverty and simplicity of Faith*, than, *with* Sylvester, *to defile himself with a fat and rich benefice, to which* Leo *all those join'd themselves, that judged aright in Faith.* These ignorant people had been made believe, 'twas from this counterfeit *Leo*, the Sect of *Leonists* derived their name and birth. *Christians* are all for finding a succession in their *Church* and *Doctrine*. *Protestants* brag of theirs in the *Vaudois*, the *Vaudois* in their pretended companion of St. *Sylvester*; and both are equally fictitious.

Ren. Ibid. c. iv. v. 749. Pylied. c. iv. p. 779. Fragm. Pylied. 815. 816. &c.

Seyss. f. 52.

CXXV. The *Calvinists* have no cotempo-

All the truth to be found in the *Vaudois* origin is, that they took their motive of separation from the endowing of Churches and Church-men contrary,

rary authors to favour their pretensions to the *Vaudois*. *Hist. des Vaudois. ch.* 1.

contrary, as they pretended, to that poverty *Jesus Christ* requires of his Ministers. But as this origin is absurd, and besides, nowise serves the turn of *Protestants*; we have seen, what an account *Paul Perrin* hath given of it in his history of the *Vaudois*. He sets forth this *Waldo* as a person *the most courageous in opposing the Real* Presence in the year 1160. But does he produce any author in Confirmation of what he says? no, not so much as one: neither *Aubertin*, nor *la Roque*, nor *Cappel*, infine no Protestant of *Germany* or *France* hath produced, or ever will produce, any one author, either of those times, or of succeeding ages for the space of three or four hundred years, who gives the *Vaudois* that origin which this Historian lays for the foundation of his history. Have any of the *Catholicks*, who wrote so copiously, whatever *Berengarius* and the rest objected against the *Real* Presence, so much as named *Waldo* amongst those that opposed it? None ever hath dream't of it: we have seen, what they said of *Waldo*, was far different. But why must they have spared him only? What then, did this man, they make so courageous in stemming the torrent, so conceal his Doctrine that none ever could perceive he impugn'd an article of this importance? or was *Waldo* so formidable a person, that no Catholick durst impeach him of this error at the time they impeach'd him of so many others? An Historian that sets out with a fact of this nature, and lays it for the foundation of his history, what credit does he deserve? Nevertheless, *Paul Perrin* is heard like an oracle among *Calvinists*, so lightly do they come into whatever favours the prejudices of the Sect.

CXXVI. *Vaudois* books produced by *Perrin*.

But for want of known authors, *Perrin* produces, for his only proof, some old books of the

the *Vaudois* in manuſcript, which he pretends to have retrieved; amongſt the reſt, one Volume wherein was *A book concerning Antichriſt bearing date* 1120, *and in this ſame Volume, many ſermons of the* Vaudois Barbes. But it's already evidently made out, there neither were *Vaudois* nor *Barbes* in 1120, ſince *Waldo*, by *Perrin*'s own account, did not appear till 1160. The word *Barbe* was not known, nor in uſe among the *Vaudois* to ſignify their Doctors, till many ages after, and manifeſtly in the latter times. So, theſe diſcourſes cannot all of them be made to paſs as of eleven hundred and twenty years ſtanding. Nay, *Perrin* himſelf is reduced to allow this date only to the diſcourſe concerning *Antichriſt*, which, by this means, he hopes to father on *Peter de Bruis*, who lived about that time, or on ſome of his diſciples. But the date ſtanding in the front, ſhould ſeemingly extend to all, and conſequently is utterly falſe in regard of the firſt, as it evidently is in regard of the reſt. And beſides, this treatiſe about *Antichriſt*, which he pretends to be of 1160, is not in a different language from the other pieces of the *Barbes* cited by *Perrin*; and this language is very modern, very little unlike the *Provence*-dialect now in uſe. Not only *Villehardouin*'s language, who wrote a hundred years ſince *Peter de Bruis*, but that alſo of the authors, ſubſequent to *Villehardouin*, is more obſolete and obſcure than that which he would make to paſs for eleven hundred and twenty years old: ſo that there is not a more groſs and palpable impoſition, than to palm on us theſe pieces as of remote antiquity.

Hiſt. des Vaudois. li. 1. ch. vii. p. 57. Hiſt. des Vaud. & Albig. 3. part. Lib. III. ch. 1. p. 253.

Nevertheleſs, on account of this ſole date of 1120, placed, you know not by whom, you know not when, in this *Vaudois-volume* no body knows any thing of, our *Calviniſts* have cited this

CXXVII. *Seqnel. in p. 962. La Rex.*

Hist. de l'Inquisit. p. 151. 459.

this book about *Antichrist* as undoubtedly the work of *some one of Peter de Bruis*'s disciples, or as his own. The same authors quote with great confidence some discourses, which *Perrin* has stack'd to that concerning *Antichrist*, as if of the same date 1120, altho', in one of these where *Purgatory* is handled, is cited a book *which St.* Austin *intitled, as the original has it*, Milsariemens, that is, of *a thousand savings*, as if St. *Austin* had wrote a book with this title; the which can be attributed to nothing but a compilation made in the thirteenth Century, bearing this title, *Milleloquium Sancti Augustini*, which the ignorant author of this treatise on *Purgatory* took for the work of this Father. Besides this, we might be able to speak something of the age of these *Vaudois-books* and the alterations possibly made in them, were we told of some known Library where they might be view'd. Till the publick hath received this necessary information, we cannot but wonder, such books have been produced to us for authentick as have not been seen but by *Perrin* alone; neither *Inferrin*, nor *La Roque* citing them otherwise than on his word, without so much as telling us, they have ever handled them. This *Perrin*, who alone boasts of them to us, observes none of those marks in them whereby the date of a book may be ascertain'd, or its antiquity proved; and all he tells us is, they are *Old Manuscripts*: which, in general, may be said of the most modern *Gothick* books of no more than a hundred or six hundred years antiquity. There is then all manner of appearance that these books, wherein they pretend what they please without any solid proof of their date, have been corrupted or altered by those *Vaudois*, whom *Luther* and his brethren reformed in their way.

Perr. Hist. des Vaud. 3. part. liv. III. ch. 2. p. 305.

Hist. [illegible]

As

As to the *Confession* of Faith publish'd by *Perrin*, and which all *Protestants* quote as an authentick piece of the ancient *Vaudois*, *It is extracted*, says he, *from a book intitled, the Spiritual Almanack, and from the memoirs of* George Morel. As for the Spiritual *Almanack*, I know not what to say to it, unless, that neither *Perrin*, nor even *Leger*, who speaks with so great a regard for the books of the *Vaudois*, have mention'd any thing of the date of this. They have not even thought it worth their while to acquaint us, whether it may be a manuscript or in print; and we may hold it for certain, it is very modern, since those, who would make the most of it, have not specified its antiquity. But what *Perrin* reports, is decisive, *viz.* that this *Confession* of Faith is extracted from the Memoirs of *George Morel*. Now it is plain from *Perrin* himself, that *George Morel* was the man that about the year 1530, (so many years after the *Reformation*) went to confer with *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* concerning the means to bring about a union: which makes it clear enough that this *Confession* of Faith is not, any more than the rest produced by *Perrin*, of the ancient *Vaudois*, but of the *Vaudois* reform'd according to the model of the *Protestants*.

CXXVIII. Confession of Faith produced by *Perrin*. That it is posterior to *Calvinism*.

Hist. des Vaud. liv. 1. *ch.* 12. *p.* 79.

Ibid.

Lett. of Oecolamp. Perrin. Hist. ch. vi. *p.* 46. vii. *p.* 59.

Accordingly hath it been already remark'd by us, that no mention of a *Vaudois Confession* of Faith was made in the Conference of 1530, betwixt *Oecolampadius* and the said *Vaudois*. We may even boldly assert, they never made a *Confession* of Faith till a long while after, since that *Beza*, so diligent in his researches into, and taking advantage from, the acts of these Hereticks, speaks nothing, as hath been seen, of any such *Confession* of Faith that he knew of, except in 1541. Howsoever that be, never, before *Luther's*

CXXIX. Demonstration that the *Vaudois* had no *Confession* of Faith [illegible] pretended [illegible]

tin's and *Calvin*'s Reformation had a *Vaudois* *Confession* of Faith been so much as hear'd of. *Seyssel*, whom pastoral vigilancy and the duty of his charge engaged in those latter times, namely, in 1516, and 1517, to so exact an inquiry into all that concern'd this Sect, speaks not one word of a *Confession* of Faith: and the reason was, because he had never heard of any such thing, either from juridical examinations, or from those of his own converts, who, with so great tokens of sincerity, discov'r'd to him with tears and compunction the whole secret of the Sect. They had not therefore, at that time, any such *Confession*; their Doctrine was to be learnt, as we have seen, by their interrogatories at tribunals: but as for a *Confession* of Faith or any *Vaudois*-writing, we find not a word in those authors that knew them best. On the contrary, the brethren of *Bohemia*, a Sect we shall speak of soon, and which the *Vaudois* have frequently strove to unite themselves to, both before and since *Luther*'s time, affirm, they wrote nothing [illegible] *Bohemia*, say they, *a Church* [illegible] *Bohemia*, [illegible] *D*[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] *Vaudois* [illegible] *their Doctrine*. But in [illegible] they had nevertheless, amongst [illegible] and time [illegible] they would have [illegible] to the *Bohemians* when they [illegible] But the *Bohemians* have, [illegible] from [illegible] say they, [illegible] This is what a learned Minister of the *Bohemian* writing, [illegible] which also *Luther*'s and

S. n. 4

Seyss. c. 3 & 4.

and *Calvin*'s Reformation. He would have ſpoken more conſequently, if, inſtead of ſaying, theſe articles were *poliſhed*, he had ſaid, they were coin'd ſince the *Reformation*. But ſo it was that men were willing, in the Party, to give ſome air of antiquity to the *Vaudois-articles*, nor would this Miniſter intirely diſcloſe the ſecret of the Sect. Be that as it will, he ſays enough of it to convince us, what we ought to credit concerning the *Confeſſions* of Faith produced, in his time, under the name of the *Vaudois*; and it's eaſily perceived, they knew nothing of the *Proteſtant* Doctrine before they had been taught it by the *Proteſtants*. Nay, they ſcarce knew what they themſelves believed, and but confuſedly deliver'd their minds concerning it to their beſt friends, ſo far from having *Confeſſions* of Faith already at hand, as *Perrin* would fain perſuade us.

CXXX. The *Vaudois*, in drawing their *Calviniſtical* Confeſſion of Faith, retain'd ſomething of the *Dogmata* that were peculiar to them. *Ibid.* 3. *part. l.* III. *ch.* 1. *p.* 292. *Ibid.* 3. *part. l.* 1. *p.* 157. *Ib. l.* III. *p.* 267.

And nevertheleſs we perceive, even in theſe pieces of *Perrin*, ſome footſteps of the ancient genius of the *Vaudois*; a confirmation of what we have already ſaid concerning them. For example, in the book about *Antichriſt*, it is ſaid, *That the Emperors and Kings having got a notion that Antichriſt reſembled the true and holy Mother the Church, they loved him, and endow'd him contrary to God's command*; which comes up to the *Vaudois* tenet, that the Clergy are forbidden to have any goods: an error, as above ſeen, that was the firſt ground-work of their ſeparation. What is advanced in the *Cateckiſm*, *viz.* that you may know the Miniſters *by their true ſenſe of the Faith, and by their holy Doctrine and life of good example*, &c. ſuits alſo with that error, which made the *Vaudois* believe, that Miniſters of an evil life were degraded from their Miniſtry, and loſt the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

For which reason, in the book that treats of *Antichrist*, it's also said, that one of his works is, [illegible] *Holy Ghost* [illegible] *Lords*, [illegible] *Baptism* and *Regeneration*: was is whereby a [illegible] Lord is required in the Ministry of *Baptism* as a thing necessary for the child's regeneration, and the contrary is rank'd among the works of *Antichrist*. Thus, when they composed these new *Confessions* of Faith agreeable to the *Reformation*, which they had a design of entering into, there was no hindering them from still insinuating something that favour'd of the old *Leaven*; and without further loss of time in this inquiry, it is sufficient you have observed, in these works of the *Vaudois*, the two errors which were the ground of their separation.

CXXXI. Reflexions [illegible] history [illegible]

Such is the history of the *Albigeois* and *Vaudois* as reported by the authors of those times. Our *Reformed*, finding nothing therein favourable to their pretensions, connived at their being [illegible] upon by the ill grounds of [illegible] Many [illegible] authors, that were [illegible] the [illegible] of the persecution [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible], but given the general [illegible] to both of them. Whatever [illegible] [illegible] of their error, our [illegible] [illegible] than to impute we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] two [illegible] [illegible] an error, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible]

same

ſame Sect, have concluded, that nought but calumny branded the *Albigenſes* with the imputation of *Manicheiſm*, ſince the *Vaudois*, according to the ancient authors, are exempt from that blemiſh.

CXXXII. Demonſtration that the Hereticks, who denied the *Reality* in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, were *Manicheans*. Notoriouſly falſe ſuppoſition of the Miniſters.

They ought to reflect that theſe ancients, who, in accuſing the *Vaudois* of other errors, have diſcharged them from *Manicheiſm*, at the ſame time, have diſtinguiſh'd them from the *Albigenſes* whom we have convicted of it. For example, the Miniſter *de la Roque*, who, as he writ the laſt on this ſubject, hath muſter'd up the ſubtle quirks of all the other authors of the Party, and eſpecially thoſe of *Aubertin*, believes he has juſtified the *Albigenſes* as to their rejecting the *Old Teſtament* like the *Manicheans*, by ſhewing from *Renier*'s teſtimony, that the *Vaudois* received it: he gains nothing, ſince theſe *Vaudois* are, in the ſame *Renier*, thoroughly diſtinguiſh'd from the *Cathari* the ſtem of the *Albigenſian* progeny. The ſame *La Roque* thinks to reap advantage from certain Hereticks, who, according to *Radulphus Ardens*, ſaid, *That the Sacrament was nothing but meer Bread.* It is true, but the ſame *Radulphus* adds, what *La Roque* no leſs than *Aubertin* have diſſembled, that theſe ſame Hereticks *admit two Creators, and reject the Old Teſtament, the truth of the Incarnation, Marriage, and the uſe of Fleſh-meat.* The ſame Miniſter alſo cites certain Hereticks mention'd by *Peter de Vaucernay*, who denied the truth of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body in the *Euchariſt*. I own it, but at the ſame time this Hiſtorian aſſures us, *they admitted the two Principles*, with all the train of *Manichean* errors. *La Roque* would make us believe, that the ſame *Peter de Vaucernay* diſtinguiſhes the *Arians* and *Manicheans* from the *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*. The half of his diſcourſe is

La Roq. 450. *Aub. p.* 967. *ex Ren. c.* 111. 5. *Ren. c.* vi. *La Roq.* 456. *Aub. p.* 964. *B. Rad. Ard. Serm.* 8. *Pag. Pontes. La Roq. Aub. loc. cit. P. de Vaucernay Chron. Hist. Albig. Mb.* 11. *cap.* vi.

Hist. Albig. cap. 11.

is true: it is true that he distinguishes the *Manichæans* from the *Vaudois*, but he distinguishes them not from the Hereticks *that were in the country of* Narbonne; and certain it is, these are the same that were call'd *Albigenses*, and who unquestionably were *Manichæans*. But, continues the same *La Roque*, *Renier* owns Hereticks who say, *the Body of Jesus Christ is mere Bread*; they were those he calls *Ordinarians* that spoke thus, and, at the same time, denied the Creation, and vented a thousand other blasphemies, which *Manicheism* had introduced: so that these enemies of the *Real* Presence were at the same time no less enemies of the Creator and the Deity.

La Roq. p. 457. *Ibid.* 465. *Ren. cap.* VI. *Ren. Ibid.*

CXXXIII. *La Roque* returns to the attack with *Aubertin*, and believes he finds good *Protestants* in the persons of those Hereticks, who, by the testimony of *Cesarius* of *Heisterbach*, *blasphemed the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*. But the same *Cesarius* acquaints us, they admitted the two Principles, and all the other *Manichean* blasphemies; which he avers he is very well assured of, not from hear-say, but *from his frequent conversation with them in the Diocese of* Metz. A famous Minister of *Metz*, whom I was well acquainted with, made the *Calvinists* of that country believe, these *Albigeois* of *Cesarius* were their ancestors; and then they were plainly shewn that these ancestors, he has given them, were abominable *Manichees*. *La Roque*, in his history of the *Eucharist*, would fain have us believe, the *Bogomites* were the same with those call'd, in divers places, *Vaudois*, *Poor men of Lions*, Balsurians, Isabbatazed, Gazarens, Popliceans, *and* Turlupins. I agree that the *Vaudois*, the *Isabbatazed*, and the *Poor men of Lions* were the same sect; but that they were call'd *Gazarens* or *Cathari*, *Poplicans*, *Turlupins*,

Hist. Cesar. Heisterb. lib. V. *cap.* 2. *Ibid. La Roq.* 455. *Lat. Cesar. Ibid. Gos. p.* 4.

Bulgarians or Bogomilists, is what never willbe shewn from any author of those times. Nevertheless, Mr. *de la Roque* must needs have these *Bogomilists* to be their friends: surely for this reason, because *they accounted the Body and Blood, which we consecrate, unworthy of all esteem.* But he ought to have learnt from *Anna Comnena*, who has given us a right notion of these Hereticks, that they *reduced to a fantom the Incarnation of Jesus*; *that they taught such impurities as the modesty of her sex forbad this Princess to repeat*; *and infine, that they had been convicted by the Emperor* Alexius *her Father of introducing a* Dogma *mix'd with two the most infamous of all Heresies, that of the* Manicheans, *and that of the* Massalians.

An. Comn. Alex. lib. xv. p. 486. & seq.

CXXXIV Sequel of the suppositions of the Ministers. *Ibid. 458. Rog. de Hoved. Ann. Angl. Baron. ad An. 1178.*

The same *La Roque* counts also amongst his friends *Peter Moran*, who, press'd to declare his Faith before all the people, confessed, *He did not believe the consecrated Bread was the Body of our Lord*; and he forgets that this *Peter Moran*, by the report of the author whose testimony he cites, was of the number of those Hereticks convicted of *Manicheism*, which were call'd *Arians* for the reason abovemention'd.

CXXXV. Another falsity. *Ibid. 451.*

This author reckons also amongst his friends those Hereticks, concerning whom it is said in the Council of *Toulouse* under *Calixtus* II. *that they rejected the Sacrament of Jesus Christ's Body and Blood*; and he mutilates the very *Canon* he has taken these words from, in the sequel whereof is to be seen, that these Hereticks, together with the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, *rejected also Infant-Baptism and lawful Wedlock.*

Conc. Tolos. An. 1119. Can. 3. v. 8.

CXXXVI Another passage mutilated. *P. 457.*

With the like hardiness he corrupts a passage of *Emerick* the Inquisitor, concerning the *Vaudois*. *Emerick*, says he, *attributes to them, as a Heresy, their saying that the Bread is not transubstantiated*

Direct. part. 2. c. 14.

substantiated into the true Body of Jesus Christ, nor the Wine into Blood. Who would not believe the *Vaudois* convicted by this testimony of denying *Transubstantiation?* but we have given the whole passage, where you'll read: *The ninth error of the* Vaudois *is, that the Bread is not transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ,* IF THE PRIEST, WHO CONSECRATES IT, BE A SINNER. Mr. *La Roque* cuts off these last words, and, by this falsification alone, takes from the *Vaudois* two important points of their Doctrine; one, which is the abhorrence of all *Protestants*, to wit, *Transubstantiation*; the other, which is the abhorrence of all *Christians*, namely, their saying, that the Sacraments lose their virtue in the hands of unworthy Ministers. Thus do our adversaries prove what they list, by manifest falsifications, nor dread giving themselves predecessors even at this rate.

CXXXVII. Recapitulation.

These are a part of *Aubertin*'s and *La Roque*'s illusions with regard to the *Albigenses*, and *Vaudois* or *poor men* of *Lions*. In a word, they perfectly vindicate these last from *Manichæism*, but, at the same time, bring no kind of proof to shew, they denied *Transubstantiation*; on the contrary, do corrupt the passages which prove, they admitted it. And as for those who denied it in those days, they produce none but such as are convicted of *Manichæism*, by the testimony of the same authors that accuse them of denying the change of substances in the *Eucharist*, to that their [illegible] adversaries, with us, denied *Transubstantiation* with *Berengar*, or, are convicted of *Manichæism* [illegible]

But [illegible] *Manichæism* [illegible] with greater [illegible] Once granted, as the [illegible] of [illegible] that *Berengar* and *Albigenses* [illegible] Heretics, make them

[illegible]

perfect *Manicheans*, they cannot deny there were such, and even in those countries; and they were those, say they, who were call'd *Cathari* or *Puritans*. But they add, they were very few in number, since *Renier*, who knew them so well, assures us, they had but *sixteen Churches in the whole world*; nay, that the number of these *Cathari* did not exceed *four thousand* in all parts of the earth: *Whereas*, says *Renier*, *the believers are not to be number'd*. These Ministers would give to understand from this passage, that these sixteen Churches, and four thousand men spread in all parts of the universe, could not have caused in it all that noise and all those wars the *Albigenses* were authors of: it must therefore have happen'd that the name of *Cathari* or *Manicheans* was extended to some other Sect more numerous, and that the *Vaudois* and *Albigenses* had the name of *Manicheans* given them, either by mistake, or calumny.

Aub. 968. *a. La Roq.* 460. *ex.*

Ren. c. vi.

Ren. c. vi.

CXXXIX Sixteen Churches of the *Manicheans* that comprehended the whole Sect. *Ren. c.* vi.

Whosoever has a mind to see what length prejudice or illusion will go, needs but to hear, after what the Ministers have said, the truth I am going to relate, or rather, call to mind what has already been related. And in the first place, as to these sixteen Churches, you have seen that the word *Church* was taken in this place by *Renier*, not for particular Churches which were in certain Towns, but often, for whole Provinces: thus you find amongst these Churches, *the Church of* Sclavonia, *the Church of* Marc-Ancona *in* Italy, *the Church of* France, *the Church of* Bulgaria, the Mother of all the rest. All *Lombardy* was contain'd under the title of two Churches: those of *Toulouse* and *Alby*, which in *France* formerly were the most numerous, comprehended all *Languedoc*, and so forth: so that, under the denomination of sixteen Churches, the whole

Sect

Sect was express'd as divided into sixteen Cantons, all which had their relation to *Bulgaria*, as above seen.

CXI. The *Cathari*, in number four thousand. How this to be understood.

We have also observed, in regard of those four thousand *Cathari*, that none were understood by that name but the *perfect* of the Sect, call'd *Electi* in St. *Augustin*'s time; but withal that *Reiner* assures us, in his time, to wit, in the midst of the thirteenth Century, when the Sect was weaken'd, tho' there were but four thousand perfect *Cathari*, yet that the multitude of the rest of the Sect, namely, of simple *Believers*, was then infinite.

CXII. What the word *Believers*, in the ancient authors, signified the *Vaudois*. *Aubert*'s fallacy.

Le Roque, after *Aubertin*, pretends, the word *Believers* signified the *Vaudois*, by reason that *Pyhedorf*, and *Reiner* himself calls them so. But here is again too palpable a fallacy. The word *Believers* was common to all the Sects: each Sect had *its Believers* or Followers. The *Vaudois* had their Believers, *Credentes ipsorum*, whom *Pyhedorf* has spoken of in divers places. Not that the word *Believers* was appropriated to the *Vaudois*: but the thing meant was, that they had theirs like the rest. The place cited from *Reiner*, by the Mauriners, [illegible] the Hereticks *had their Believers*, Credentes [illegible] *amongst the Orthodox*. This [illegible] he speaks of, [illegible] he commends their good comportment. The same *Reiner* relates the Mysteries of the *Cathari*, or the breaking of their [illegible] Bread, [illegible] *only the Cathari*, [illegible] *Believers*, [illegible] were not as yet arrived to the perfection of the *Cathari*. The which does [illegible] that [illegible] known [illegible] among the [illegible], and what he further remarks, that the simple Believers were admitted to this kind of Mysteries [illegible] were

were other Myſteries which they were not deem'd worthy of. Theſe Believers of the *Cathari* were therefore the *innumerable* above mention'd; and theſe, guided by the reſt of an inferior number, raiſed all the commotions which diſturb'd the world.

CXLII. Conclusion: that the *Vaudois* concur not in ſentiment with the *Calviniſts*.

Here have you then the ſubtilties, not to ſay artifices, the Miniſters are reduced to, in order to find themſelves Predeceſſors. They have none of an apparent and continued ſucceſſion: of ſuch they go in ſearch the beſt way they are able, amongſt obſcure Sects whom they ſtrive to unite, and make of them good *Calviniſts*, tho' there be nothing they all agree in, but their hatred againſt the *Pope* and *Church*.

CXLIII. What is to be believed concerning the lives of the *Vaudois*.

It will be ask'd me, perhaps, what is my opinion concerning the manners of the *Vaudois* ſo much extoll'd by *Renier*. I can eaſily credit all he ſays, nay, if they pleaſe, more than *Renier* ſaid of them; for the Devil matters not by what ſort of bands he links men to him. Thoſe *Touloufian* Hereticks, confeſſedly *Manicheans*, had not leſs of this ſhewiſh piety than the *Vaudois*. 'Twas of them St. *Bernard* ſaid: *Their manners are irreproachable; they oppreſs none; they injure no man; their countenances are mortified and wan with faſting; they eat not their Bread like ſluggards, but labour to gain a livelyhood.* What can be more plauſible than theſe Hereticks mention'd by St. *Bernard?* But after all, they were *Manicheans*, and their piety but diſguiſe. Inſpect the foundation: 'twas pride, 'twas hatred againſt the Clergy, 'twas rancour againſt the *Church*; this made them drink in the whole poiſon of an abominable Hereſy. An ignorant people may be led whither you pleaſe, when, after kindling a violent paſſion in their breaſts, eſpecially hatred againſt their guides, you uſe it as a chain to drag

Serm. 65. in Cant.

drag them by. But what shall we say of the *Vaudois*, who kept themselves so clear of the *Manichean* errors? The Devil had accomplish'd his work in them, when he inspired them with the same pride; the same ostentation of their pretended Apostolick Poverty; the same presumption to boast their virtues; the same hatred against the Clergy, even to despise the Sacraments in their hands; the same bitterness against their brethren, even to a rupture from them and open Schism. With this hatred in their breasts, were they externally still more just than has been reported, St. *John* assures me, they are murderers. Were they as chaste as Angels, their lot would be no better than that of the *foolish Virgins*, whose lamps were void of oyl, and hearts void of that sweetness which alone can nourish Charity.

1 *John* iii. 15. *Mat.* xxv. 3.

CXLIV. Sweetness is the character of the sect. Abuse of the Scripture. *Ch.* v. p. 749.

Reiner has therefore justly pointed out the character of these Heretick, when he resolves the cause of their error into hatred, bitterness and rancour: *Sic fit ut Deum [illegible], & rancor.* These Heretics, says he, which exterior was to taking, read much, *[illegible] little. They were [illegible], and in them is my [illegible] for the Prophets, [illegible] Jews [illegible] God*; as much as to say, there was [illegible] than much of the spirit of contention, but more of the spirit of compunction. All of them in general, *Manichees* and *Cathars*, never cited any [illegible] against human inventions, and citing the holy Scripture, wherein they always had a text at hand upon all occasions. When examined concerning Faith, they cloth'd the question by equivocations, it proved to him, 'twas *Jesus Christ* himself, and they, that taught them this practice when he said to the *Jews: Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up*; meaning

Rer. Reit.

John ii. 19.

meaning of the Temple of his body what the *Jews* underſtood of that of *Solomon*. This text, to thoſe that knew no better, ſeem'd expreſly made for their purpoſe. The *Vaudois* had a hundred others of this ſort, which they were expert in wreſting to their own purpoſes; and to thoſe not thoroughly verſed in Scripture, it was no eaſy matter to eſcape their ſnares. Another author remarks a very ſingular character in theſe falſe profeſſors of poverty. They did not proceed like a St. *Bernard*, like a St. *Francis*, like other Apoſtolick Preachers, and attack in the midſt of the world the diſſolute livers, the uſurers, the gameſters, the blaſphemers, and the like publick ſinners in order to convert them: on the contrary, whomſoever they found, in Towns or Villages that were peaceable and retired, 'twas into their houſes they inſinuated themſelves under the covert of their exterior ſimplicity. Scarce durſt they raiſe their voice, their meekneſs was ſo great: yet the topick of wicked Prieſts and wicked Monks was ſtraight introduced: a keen and mercileſs ſatyr put on the diſguiſe of zeal; well-meaning people, that liſtened to them, were enſnared; and tranſported with this bitter zeal imagin'd even, they turn'd better men, by turning Hereticks: thus an univerſal contagion diffuſed itſelf. Some were drawn into vice by the great ſcandals that appear'd in the world on every ſide: the Devil took in the ſimple after another manner; and, by a falſe horror of the wicked, alienated them from the Church, wherein the number of ſuch was daily ſeen to increaſe.

Pylad. cap. x. p. 283.

CXLV. Eminent ſanctity in the Catholick Church.

Nothing could be more unjuſt; ſince the *Church*, far from approving the diſorders which gave a handle to the revolt of Hereticks, by all her decrees deteſted them, and nouriſh'd at the ſame time in her boſom men of ſo eminent a holineſs,

St. *Bernard.*

holiness, that, in comparison to it, all the virtue of these hypocrites appear'd as nothing. St. *Bernard* alone, whom God raised in those days with all the graces of the *Prophets* and *Apostles* to combate these new Heretics, when they were making their greatest efforts to spread themselves in *France*, was alone sufficient to confound them. In him might they behold a spirit truly apostolical, a sanctity of such a lustre, that even those, whose errors he impugn'd, were in admiration of it, insomuch that there were some of them, who, whilst they wickedly anathematiz'd the holy Doctors, excepted St. *Bernard* from that sentence, and thought themselves obliged to publish, that at last he had come over to their Party: so much did they blush to have against them so great a witness. Amongst his other virtues, was seen to shine in him, and his brethren the holy Monks of *Citeaux* and *Clairvaux*, to mention nothing of the rest, that Apostolick Poverty these Heretics boasted so much of: but St. *Bernard* and his Disciples, for all their carrying this Poverty and Christian mortification to its utmost height, did not glory that they alone had preserved the *Sacraments*, nor were they the less obedient to Superiors however wicked, distinguishing, with *Jesus Christ*, ministers from the *Chair* and *Doctrine*.

Apud. Rer. ch. vi. p. 755.

CXLVI. Barbarous and presumptuous of Heretics.

At the same time, great Saints might be numbered, not only among the Bishops, among the Priests, among the Monks, but also among the common people, and even amongst Princes in the midst of this worldly pomp: but Heretics cared to look on nothing but vice, that they might lay more boldly with the *Pharisee*; *We are not as other men are*; we are Apostles, we are the *Poor* beloved of God: come to us if you'll receive the *Sacraments*.

Luke xviii. 11.

One

One ought not therefore to be surpised at the apparent regularity of their manners, this being a part of that seduction we have been fore-arm'd against by so many informations of the Gospel. To finish the external piety of these Hereticks, this last stroke is added; that they suffer'd with a surprising patience. It is true, and 'tis what compleats the illusion. For the Hereticks of those times, and even the *Manicheans*, whose infamies we have beheld, after shifting and dissembling as long as ever they were able to escape punishment, when convicted, and condemn'd by the laws, ran to death with joy. Their false constancy amazed the world: *Enervin*, their accuser was nevertheless astonish'd, and inquired of St. *Bernard* with concern the meaning of such a prodigy. But the Saint, too well versed in the deep wiles of *Satan* to be ignorant of his being able to make those he held captives mimick even Martyrdom itself, answer'd, that by a just judgment of God, the evil one might have power, *Not only over the bodies of men, but also over their hearts*; and if he was able to prevail with *Judas* to destroy himself, he might well work on these Hereticks to suffer death from the hands of others. Let us not therefore wonder, if we see *Martyrs* of all Religions, even of the most monstrous ones, but learn, from this example, to hold none for true *Martyrs* but those who die in *Unity*.

CXLVII. Whether their false constancy ought to surprise us: St. *Bernard*'s memorable answer.

Analect. lib. III. *p.* 454.

Serm. 66 *in Cant. sub. fin.*

But what ought to put *Protestants* for ever out of conceit with all these impious Sects, is the detestable custom they had of denying their Religion, and partaking outwardly of our worship whilst they rejected it in their hearts. It is certain the *Vaudois*, like the *Manicheans*, lived in this practice ever since the Sect's beginning, till towards the midst of the last Century. *Seyssel* could

CXLVIII. Inevitable condemnation of these Hereticks in that they denied their Religion.

p. 47.

could not sufficiently wonder at the false piety of their *Bishops*, who could mind even the minutest lies, as to many grievous sins, yet dreaded not, in presence of the Judges, to lye in point of Faith with an obstinacy so surprising, that the Confession of it scarce could be torn from them by the accurst tortures. They tortured swearing tho' even to bear witness to truth in courts of Judicature, and at the same time, made at no oath to conceal their Sect and Errors: a tradition they had received from the *Manichees*, as they had also inherited from them their prevarication and rancour. Men more dyvinelves to any thing, when once their guides have gained the ascendant over their minds; but especially, when engaged in a cheat under the pretext of piety.

A History of the BOHEMIAN *Brethren, commonly and falsely called* VAUDOIS.

WE are now to speak of those, who were truly called *Waldenses* and *Poorman*, and who called themselves the Brethren of *Bohemia*, or the *Upper Germany*, or *Austria*. They made a particular Sect, different from the [illegible] of *Lyon*. Wicklif [illegible] by some Christians of *Bohemia*, [illegible] in *Moravia*, where he kept [illegible] approved afterwards of their Ch[illegible] [illegible] *Bohemia* and *Moravia* [illegible] Bishop's [illegible] quality of [illegible] The learned Cassander, whom we have to speak of, [illegible] *Moravia*, [illegible] *Bohemia* [illegible] *Waldenses* [illegible] by the *Popish* Clergy on the [illegible], preferred to the Crown of *Moravia* [illegible] to [illegible] Ministers, [illegible] preached [illegible]

from *Rome* before *Luther*, this is the most commended by Protestants: but its birth and Doctrine will soon evince, nothing could be drawn from it to their advantage.

As for its birth, many led into a mistake by the name, and some conformity of Doctrine, make these *Bohemians* descend from the ancient *Vaudois*: but for their part, they renounce this origin, as appears clearly in the preface they prefixt to their *Confession* of Faith in 1572. There they set forth their origin in an ample manner, and say amongst other things, that the *Vaudois* are more ancient than they; that these had, indeed, some Churches dispersed in *Bohemia* when their own began first to appear, but they had no acquaintance with them; that nevertheless these *Vaudois*, in process of time, made themselves known to them, yet refused, say they, to make any deep research into their Doctrine. *Our annals*, continue they, *inform us they were never united to our Churches for two reasons: first, because they gave no testimony of their Faith and Doctrine; secondly, because, in order to keep peace, they made no difficulty of yielding at Moles [illegible] by those of the Church of* Rome. Whence they concluded not only *that they never had entered into any union with the* Vaudois, *but* [illegible] *they* [illegible] *any* [illegible] *any* [illegible] *union*. So [illegible] are these people from acknowledging [illegible] *Vaudois* [illegible], that, what is ambition'd by the [illegible], is rejected by them with scorn.

Camerarius writes the same thing in his history of the *Bohemian* Brethren: but *Rudolph*, one of their Pastors in *Moravia*, says, still more clearly, that these Churches are far different [illegible] of the *Vaudois*; *that the* Vaudois [illegible]

CI. They disown those who call them *Vaudois*, and why. *Description of the Bohemian Churches*, *Confession*, ch. 15. *Author. Camerarius*, *Hist.* 1575.

CII.

Fudg. de F. I. Fous. in Bohem. p. 1[illegible]

ever since the year 1100, *whereas the Brethren did not begin to appear till the fifteenth Century*; and finally, *that it's written in the annals of the Brethren how they always with constancy refused to make any union with the* Vaudois, *by reason they did not give a full Confession of their Faith, and want to Map.*

CLII. *The Vaudois and the Brethren were first three well as the Picards. Reason of Synods. Fudg. p. 2 part. 2 p. 1[illegible]*

Accordingly, we see the Brethren, in all their Synods and all their acts, title themselves the Brethren of *Bohemia*, *fairly call'd* Vaudois. The name of *Picards* is still more detested by them: *It is very likely*, says *Rudiger*, *that, who first gave it our ancestors, took it from a certain* Picard, *who, renewing the ancient Heresy of the* Adamites, *introduced nudities and shameful actions*; *and as this Heresy penetrated into* Bohemia *about the time our Church was planted, they were discredited by so infamous a title, as if we had been nothing but the wretched remains of that impure* Picard. You see thereby how these two pedigrees, from the *Vaudois* and the *Picard*, are rejected by the *Brethren*: they account it an *affront to be call'd* Picards *and* Vaudois; and if the first origin displeases them, the record, our *Protestants* glory in, seems to them but little less shameful, but now we are going to see, that which they gave themselves, is not much more reputable.

The History of JOHN WICKLIFF *an* ENGLISHMAN.

CLIII. *Wicklif's antiquity. Pedigree of my.*

THEY boast of being the disciples of *John Huss*: but to prove of their succession, we need a second Father Paul, from *John Huss* himself glorified in having *Wicklif* for his father. What judgment we then ought to pass on *Wicklif*? Shall

be ſhew'd in few words, without producing any other records than his own works, and the teſtimony of all candid *Proteſtants.*

The chief of all his works, is the *Trialogue*, that famous book which ſet all *Bohemia* in a flame, and raiſed ſuch troubles in *England.* This was the *Theology* contain'd in it: " That all happens by neceſſity; that he, a long while, " ſpurn'd at this Doctrine, becauſe it was contrary " to the liberty of God; but at laſt, was obliged " to yield and acknowledge at the ſame time, " that all the ſins committed in the world, are " neceſſary and inevitable; that God could not " prevent the ſin of the firſt man, nor forgive " it without Jeſus Chriſt's ſatisfaction, but then, " it was impoſſible the Son of God ſhould not " become incarnate, ſhould not ſatisfy, ſhould " not die; that God indeed might have done " otherwiſe, had he will'd it, but he could not " will otherwiſe; that he could not but forgive " man; that the ſins of man proceeded from " ſeduction and ignorance, and ſo it was requiſite, of neceſſity, that the divine wiſdom " ſhould put on Fleſh to repair them; that Jeſus " Chriſt could not ſave the Devils; that their ſin " was a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; that to " ſave them, it would have been neceſſary, the " Holy Ghoſt ſhould have become incarnate, " which was abſolutely impoſſible; therefore, " that no poſſible means were left of ſaving " the Devils in general; that nothing was poſſible to God but what actually came to paſs; " that the power admitted for things, which did " not happen, was an illuſion; that God can " produce nothing within himſelf, which he does " not neceſſarily produce, nor out of himſelf, " which he does not likewiſe neceſſarily produce " in its time; that when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaid, he

Lib. III. c. vii. viii xxiii. *p.* 56. 82. *Edit.* 1525.

Ibid. c. xxiv. xxv. *p.* 85. &c

Ibid. c. xxvii. *li.* I. *c.* x. *p.* 15. *Ib.* xi. 18.

" could all or [illegible] more than twelve Legi-
" ons of Angels, you must understand, he
" could [illegible] he would, but could acknowledge at
" the time [illegible], he could [illegible] that the
" power of God [illegible] man, [illegible]
" [illegible] there is no
" greater power in a word, [illegible] and
" all which exists is of [illegible] and
" [illegible] the [illegible]
" [illegible] to be would be [illegible]
" [illegible] or [illegible] and as he could not [illegible]
" [illegible] to any thing capable [illegible]
" [illegible] nothing; that we ought not to ask
" why God does not [illegible] him, the reason,
" because he can't [illegible] in general, why he
" does or does not [illegible]
" does accordingly all he [illegible]
" [illegible] but in the [illegible]
" to provide his son w[illegible]
" [illegible] to [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible] happy [illegible] that
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]
" [illegible]

" can ſave none but ſuch as are ſaved actually; *Ibid.* iv.
" that there is a neceſſary conſequence for ſinning
" if certain things fall out; that God wills theſe
" things to happen, and that this conſequence
" be good, becauſe otherwiſe, it would not be
" neceſſary; ſo he wills you ſhould ſin, and
" wills ſin on account of the good he draws
" from it; and altho' it does not pleaſe God
" that *Peter* ſhould ſin, yet the ſin of *Peter* *Ibid.* iv.
" pleaſes him; that God approves ſinning; that *Ibid.* iv.
" he neceſſitates to ſin; that man can do no
" better than he does; that ſinners and the
" damn'd are nevertheleſs beholden to God, who
" ſhews mercy to the damn'd in giving them
" exiſtence which is more advantageous to, and
" to be wiſh'd for by them, than non-exiſtence;
" that indeed, he dares not wholly aſcertain this
" opinion, nor puſh men on to ſin by teaching
" that it is agreeable to God they ſhould thus
" ſin, and that God allows it them as a recom-
" penſe; he being aware that the wicked might *Ibid.* iv.
" take occaſion from this Doctrine, to commit
" grievous crimes, which if they may, they
" will commit: but if no better reaſons are given
" him than what are commonly alledged, he ſhall
" abide confirm'd in his ſentiment without ut-
" tering a word."

You ſee thereby, he feels a ſecret horror of the blaſphemies he vents: but he is hurried into them by the ſpirit of pride and ſingularity to which he had abandon'd himſelf, nor knows how to reſtrain the tranſports of his pen. This is a faithful extract of his blaſphemies: they are reduced to two heads, to make a God over-rul'd by neceſſity, and, what is a conſequence from thence, a God Author and Approver of all crimes; namely, a God whom the *Atheiſts* would have

reason to deny; so that, the Religion of so great a *Reformer* is worse than *Atheism*.

At the same time may be seen, how many of his *Dogmata* were follow'd by *Luther*. As for *Calvin* and the *Calvinists*, we shall see them hereafter; nor, in this sense, is it in vain, they have reckon'd this impious wretch among their predecessors.

CHAP. IV. He imitates the false piety of the *Pharisees*, by attributing the effect of the *Sacraments* to personal merit: saying, "*The keys did not operate* "except in the hands of the holy persons; and "those who do not imitate Jesus Christ cannot "have the power of them; that, nevertheless, this "power is not lost in the Church: that it subsists "in the humble and unknown; that Lay men "may consecrate and administer the Sacraments; "that 'tis a great crime in Church men to pos- "sess temporal goods, a great crime in Princes "to have bestow'd such on them, and not to "employ their authority to take them from the "Clergy." Here you have, in an *Englishman*, (if I may be allow'd to say it) the first pattern of the *English* Reformation, and Church-plundering. Some will say, 'tis a ill interest we here combat for; no: we do but shadow the mischievousness of extravagant minds, which, as we see, are capable of every excess.

Luther, ubi supra, p. xxxi. xxxii.

CHAP. V. *Wycliff*, Dr. Pierce, p. [illegible] charges *Wycliff* was calumniated at the Council of *Constance*, and that propositions which he did not believe, were laid to his charge, this amongst the rest: *God is obliged to obey the Devil*. But if we find so many blasphemies in his only work that remains of *Wycliff*, we may easily believe there were many others in his books, so very numerous at that time; and put [illegible] for this, 'tis a manifest consequence

consequence from the above Doctrine, forasmuch as God, in all things acting by necessity, is drawn by the will of the Devil to do certain things, when obliged of necessity to concur to them.

CLVI. *Wickliff's* pernicious Doctrine concerning Kings.

Neither do we find, in the *Trialogue*, that proposition imputed to *Wickliff*, *That a King ceased to be a King by the commission of a mortal sin.* There were other books enough of *Wickliff* whence this might be taken. In fact, we have a Conference betwixt the *Catholicks* of *Bohemia* and the *Calixtins* in presence of King *George Pogiebrac*, wherein *Hilary* Dean of *Prague* maintains to *Roquesane* Chief of the *Calixtins*, that *Wickliff* had writ in express terms, *That an old woman might be King and Pope, were she better and more virtuous than the Pope and King: and in such case, she might say to the King,* RISE UP, I AM MORE WORTHY *than thou to sit on the throne.* Upon *Roquesane*'s answering, this was not *Wickliff*'s meaning, the same *Hilary* offer'd to shew these propositions to the whole assembly, and this besides: *That whosoever is, by his virtue, the most praise-worthy, is also the most worthy in dignity, and the most holy old woman ought to be placed in the most holy employment. Roquesane* stood mute, and the fact pass'd or incontestable.

Ibid. prop. 15. *Disput. cum Robys. apud. Cavisant. lect. T.* III. 2. *pars. p.* 474.

Ibid. 500.

CLVII. Such of *Wickliff's* articles as were conformable to our Doctrine.

The same *Wickliff* consented to the *Invocation* of Saints, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged their *merits*, and believed *Purgatory*.

Lib. III. c. 30. *Lib.* II. 14.

As for the *Eucharist*, what he most contended against, was *Transubstantiation*, which he said, was the most detestable Heresy that ever had been broach'd. Wherefore, 'tis his great article that Bread is in this Sacrament. In regard of the *Real Presence*, he has somethings for, and some against it. He says, *The Body is hidden in each morsel and crumb of Bread.* In another place, after saying according to his cursed maxim, that the sanctity

Lib. III. 5. iv. 6. 7. 40. 41. *Lib.* iv. 1. 6. *Lib.* iv. c. 1.

sanctity of the Member is necessary to a valid consecration, he adds, you must presume for the sanctity of Priests: but, says he, *On account that we have but a bare possibility of it, I more conditionally the Host which I view, and more objectively Jesus Christ who is in Heaven.* He does not therefore doubt of the *Presence*, but inasmuch as he is not certain of the Intents of the Minister, which he believes absolutely necessary thereto. Other such like privileges may be found in him, but it's little to our purpose to know more.

A fact of greater importance is advanced by Mr. *La Roque* junior. He produces a *Confession* of Faith, wherein the *Real Presence* is clearly own'd, and *Transubstantiation* no less clearly rejected: but most material of all is what he affirms, that this *Confession* of Faith was proposed to *Wendeff* in the Council of *London*, where happen'd that great Earth-quake, cain't, for that reason, *Con[illegible]* force saying, the earth had a horror of the *Bishop*'s doctrine, and others, of *Hussite*'s Hants.

But we must rather examine of this *Confession* of Faith, of which we shall speak with more certainty, when we [illegible] it [illegible], I may venture to say before hand, that it could not have been proposed to *Wendeff* by the Council. I prove [illegible] *Wendeff* in [illegible], who speaks four times, that at the Council of London *[illegible]* ; it was determined [illegible] *Hussites* [illegible] rejected this [illegible]

It [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Mon-

while, we are obliged to him for sparing us the trouble of proving here the faint-heartedness of *Wickliff*: his recantation in presence of the Council: that *Of his disciples, who at first had no more religion than he: the flame he conceived of his unnatural comportment in departing from the notions then received*, which made him break off all commerce with men; so that, since his retractation, you hear no more mention of him; and finally his dying in his *Cure* and in the exercise of his function: the which evidences, as also does his burial in hallowed ground, that he died externally in the Communion of the Church.

Le Roy, Hist. Eccl. p. 81. 85. 88. 89.

I have therefore no more to do but conclude with this author, that *Protestants* can reap nothing but shame from *Wickliff*'s conduct, *who rather was an hypocritical prevaricator, or a Roman Catholick; who died in the Church communion, he assisted at the Sacrifice, assumed the mark of distinction between both parties.*

Le Roy, Ibid.

Those who have a mind to know *Melanchthon*'s opinion of *Wickliff*, will find it in the Preface to his common places, where he says, *You may judge of* Wickliff's *spirit by the errors he stands with. He understands nothing*, says he, *of the justice of Faith: he makes a jumble of Gospel and politics: he maintains it unlawful for Priests to have any thing of their own: he speaks of the civil power after a seditious manner, and full of fallacy: with the same fallacy he cavils against the universality of* [illegible] *concerning our Lord's Supper.* This is what *Melanchthon* said, after reading *Wickliff*. He would have said more, and not spared this author as well as *Wickliff*, against *Vice will*, as making God the Author of sin. And he not fear'd, in reproving him for these excesses, he

CLXI. *Melanchthon's sentiment concerning Wickliff. Praefat. Locor. Theologicorum. Hanov. 1595. p. 115.*

he ſhould defame his maſter *Luther* under *Wickliff*'s name.

The Hiſtory of JOHN HUSS *and his Diſciples.*

CLXII. *John Huſs* imitates *Wickliff* in his hatred of the *Pope*.

WHAT raiſed *Wickliff* to ſo high a ſtation, among the Predeceſſors of our *Reformed*, was his teaching that the Pope was *Antichriſt*, and that ever ſince the year of our Lord one thouſand, when *Satan* was to be let looſe, according to St. *John*'s prophecy, the Church of *Rome* was become the Whore of *Babylon*. *John Huſs*, the Diſciple of *Wickliff*, hath merited the ſame honours, in having ſo cloſely follow'd his maſter in this Doctrine.

Hiſt. Hus. [illegible] &c.

CLXIII. *John Huſs* ſays Maſs, and has no other [illegible] in [illegible] of the Church of *Rome*. [illegible] 414.

In other points he forſook him. Heretofore there was a diſpute concerning his ſentiments on the *Euchariſt*. But the thing is adjudged by our adverſaries conſent; Mr. *La Roque* having ſhewn, in his hiſtory of the *Euchariſt*, from the authors of thoſe times, from the teſtimony of *Huſs*'s firſt Diſciples, from his own writings ſtill extant, that he believed *Tranſubſtantiation* and all the other articles of the *Roman* Faith, not one excepted, unleſs Communion under both kinds; and that he perſiſted in theſe ſentiments even unto death. The ſame Miniſter demonſtrates the ſame thing in relation to *Jerom* of *Prague*, the Diſciple of *John Huſs*, and the fact admits no doubt.

CLXIV. [illegible]

What [illegible] him to death of *John Huſs*, were [illegible] he had err'd inconſiderately, and with how [illegible], [illegible] retracted by him. But [illegible] more than all the reſt united him to [illegible] the exceſſive praiſes he gave *Wickliff* the enemy of [illegible]

Transubstantiation. *Wickliff*, in reality, was the great Doctor of *John Hus* and all the *Hussite* Party: but certain it is, they did not follow his Doctrine, crude as it was, but strove to explain it, as did *John Hus*, whom *Rudiger* praises for *having explain'd artfully, and courageously defended the sentiments of* Wickliff. It was therefore agreed on in the Party, that *Wickliff*, who, to speak the truth, was the Head thereof, had carried matters much too far, and stood greatly in need of explanation. But however that may be, it is very certain, *John Hus* gloried in his Priesthood to the very last, and never intermitted saying *Mass* when able.

Rudig. Nov. Var. p. 153

Mr. *La Roque*, junior, upholds strenuously his father's sentiments; and is even sincere enough to own, that *they are displeasing to several of the party, and especially to the famous* Mr. . . . . *who generally did not relish truths which had escap'd his notice*. Every body knows, 'twas Mr. *Claude*, whose name he suppress'd. But this young author carries his researches much farther than any *Protestant* had done before. None can any longer doubt, after the proofs which he alledges, that *John Hus* pray'd to *Saints*, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged the *merit* of works, the *seven* Sacraments, sacramental *Confession*, and *Purgatory*. The dispute chiefly turn'd on Communion under both kinds; and, what was of the most importance, on that damnable Doctrine of *Wickliff*, that *Authority*, and especially Ecclesiastical *Authority*, was lost by sin; for *John Hus* maintain'd, on this head, things as extravagant as those advanced by *Wickliff*, and thence it was he drew his pernicious consequences.

CLXV. *John H. Cathol. Communion under both kinds, and the Pope's authority. Nov. Var. p. 148. & 150. Ibid. p. 153 & seq. Conc. Const. Sess. xv. p. 10. 1. 1. &c.*

If, with such a Doctrine, and saying *Mass* besides, every day to the end of his life, a man may not only be a true *Believer*, but also a Saint and

CLXVI. All goes down with Protestants provided

and [illegible] of [illegible] proclaim [illegible] to [illegible] his Disciple, there's [illegible] about fundamental articles; [illegible] the Church of Rome; [illegible] stretch [illegible] the Church of [illegible], [illegible] Discipline [illegible] whatever [illegible], and [illegible].

Let us return to the [illegible], and [illegible] they are the Disciplinarians [illegible]. Immediately [illegible] his condemnation [illegible], two S[illegible] were seen to [illegible] the S[illegible] and the [illegible] the C[illegible] under [illegible] content of [illegible], as well [illegible], was [illegible] the most [illegible] under [illegible] not [illegible]. Without [illegible], their [illegible] themselves into the [illegible] part of [illegible]. Men [illegible] of [illegible] was [illegible] after [illegible]. He held [illegible] Discipline [illegible] Beza, [illegible] the Scot, [illegible] B[illegible] [illegible]

of those places they possessed, to be put to the sword. This says *Rudiger* an unsuspected author; to which he adds, that the *Brethren*, whom he makes to descend from these barbarous *Taborites*, *were ashamed of this parentage.* Accordingly, they renounce it expressly in all their *Confessions* of Faith and *Apologies*, and shew even it is impossible they should have sprung from the *Taborites*, because, at the time they began to appear, this Sect, in a manner crush'd by the death of its Generals and the universal pacification of the *Catholicks* and *Calixtins* (who united the whole powers of the state in order to demolish them) *held but in a lingering state till* Pegiebrac *and* Roquesane *entirely wrought their miserable remains to destruction*; *insomuch*, say they, *that no more* Taborites *were left on earth*: which is confirm'd by *Camerarius* in his history.

The other Sect, that prided itself in the name of *John Huss*, was that of the *Calixtins*, so call'd, because they believed, the *Chalice* was absolutely necessary for the people. And 'tis undoubtedly from this Sect that the *Brethren* proceeded in 1457, as they themselves declare in the Preface to their *Confession* of Faith of 1558, and again, in that of 1572, so frequently cited by us, where they speak in these terms: *Those who called our Churches, separated them selves, at that time, from the* Calixtins *by a new separation*; their meaning was, as by them explain'd in their *Apology* of 1573, that as the *Calixtins* had separated themselves from *Rome*, so the *Brethren* separated from the *Calixtins*: so that, this was a Schism and Division, in another Division and Schism. But what were the causes for this separation? there is no comprehending them aright without knowing both the belief and condition the *Calixtins* were in at that time.

Their

CLXIX. The *Compactatum*, or articles agreed to by the Council of *Basil*.

Their Doctrine at first consisted in four articles. The first concern'd the *Cup*; the other three regarded the correction of publick and particular sins, which they carried to some excess; the free preaching of the word of God, which, they would have, none could be precluded from; and Church-revenues. Herein was a smack of the *Vaudois errors*. These four articles were regulated in the Council of *Basil* after such a manner as the *Calixtins* were contented with, and the *Cup* granted them on certain terms which they agreed to. This agreement was call'd *Compactatum*, a name famous in the history of *Bohemia*. But one part of the *Hussites*, not rest'ing contented with these articles, began, under the name of *Taborites*, those bloody wars just mention'd; and the *Calixtins*, the other part of the *Hussites* which had accepted the agreement, stood not to it; for instead of declaring, as they had agreed at *Basil*, that the *Cup* was neither necessary nor commanded by *Jesus Christ*, they pr[illegible]d the necessity thereof, even in regard to new baptiz'd children. This point excepted, 'tis allow'd, the *Calixtins* agreed in all *Dogmata* with the Church of *Rome*, and their disputes with the *Taborites* evidence as much. *Lydius* a Minister of *Dort* has collected the acts thereof, which [illegible] call'd in question by *Pr[illegible]*.

Lud. Wald. f. 1. Pr. 1610.

CLXX. The *Calixtins* disposed to own the *Pope*.

In them therefore may be seen, that the *Calixtins*, not only allow *Transubstantiation*, but also with relation to the *Eucharist*, all and every part of the doctrine and [illegible] received in the Church of *Rome*; Communion only under both kinds excepted, and should that be granted by the *Pope*, we ready to acknowledge his authority.

Syn. Prag. An. 1431. ap. Lud. p. 204. & An. 1434. Lud. p. 332. 334.

Here the query might be put, that if Instruments being such, how they could return to great a respect for *Wickliff* as to call him by Excellence, as the

the *Taborites* did, the *Evangelick Doctor?* the reason in short was, because we find nothing regular in these separated Sects. Altho' *Wickliff* had inveigh'd with all the passion imaginable against the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and in particular against *Transubstantiation*; the *Calixtins* excused him, by answering, what he had said against this *Dogma*, was not spoken decisively but *scholastically*, by way of dispute; whereby we may judge how easy a matter they found it to justify, say what you would, an author they were infatuated with.

CLXXI. Wherefore then did they so much respect the memory of *Wickliff*. *Ibid. p.* 472.

For all that, they were not the less disposed to submit to the *Pope*'s authority, and *Roquesane*'s interests alone prevented their re-union. This Doctor himself had been contriving the reconciliation, in hopes, after so great a service, that the *Pope* would be easily inclined to confer on him the Archbishoprick of *Prague*, which he much ambition'd. But the *Pope*, unwilling to trust the care of Souls and Depositum of Faith to so factious a person, invested *Budowix* with this Prelacy, as much *Roquesane*'s superior in merit as in birth. This ruin'd all. *Bohemia* saw herself re-involved in more bloody wars than ever: *Roquesane*, spite of the *Pope*, set himself up for Archbishop of *Prague*, or rather for *Pope* in *Bohemia*; nor could *Pogiebrac*, by his intrigues raised to the throne, refuse him any thing.

CLXXII. The ambition of *Roquesane* and the *Calixtins*, hinders their re-union with the Church. *Cam. Hist. Narr. Ad. Scot.* p. 115. &c.

During these disturbances, the tradesmen who had begun to grumble in the precedent reign, fell more than ever to confer among themselves concerning the *Reformation* of the Church. The *Mass*, *Transubstantiation*, prayer for the Dead, the veneration of *Saints*, but especially the power of the *Pope*, were offensive to them. In-fine, they complain'd the *Calixtins remonstrd* in

CLXXIII. Origin of the *Taborites*, or *Bretheren*, who separate from *Rome* and the *Calixtins*.

An 1512. *in every thing except the Cup.* They undertook to correct them. *Rokycane* incensed against the *Holy See* seem'd to them a proper instrument to manage this affair. Shock'd with his haughty answers, which favour'd of nothing but love of this world, they reproach'd him with his ambition; that he was a meer worldling, who would sooner abandon them than his honours. At the same time they placed at their head one *Kelefiski* a master-shoemaker, who made them a body of Doctrine call'd *the Forms of Kelefiski.* Afterwards they chose themselves a Pastor named *Mathias Cunvalde*, a lay and ignorant person; and in 1467, divided openly from the *Calixtins*, as the *Calixtins* had done from *Rome.* Such was the birth of the *Bohemian* Brethren, and this is what *Comenius* and they themselves, as well in their Annals as in their Apologies and Prefaces to their *Confessions* of *Faith*, relate of their origin, except that they date their separation from the year 1457; and it seems to me more proper to fix it ten years after in 1467, at the time they themselves date the creation of their new Pastors.

CLXXII. I find here some little contradiction betwixt what they relate of their history in their Apology of 1532, and what they say in the Preface of 1535. For they say in this Preface that in 1457, at the time they separated from the *Calixtins*, they were a people collected from all manner of [illegible] and in their *Apology* of 1532, wherein they were better acquainted with their affairs; they own frankly, that [illegible] made up of *the remnant* [illegible] *and* [illegible] *Bohemian Priests* [illegible], or, translate it as you please, [illegible] *the world* [illegible] Though they separate from

from the *Calixtins*, that is, from the only *Hussites* then in being. See how they are the disciples of *John Huss*; a Piece broken from a Piece; a Schism cut off from a Schism; *Hussites* divided from *Hussites* and retaining scarce any thing of them but their disobedience and rupture from the Church of *Rome*.

CLXXV. They only took the name of *John Huss*, and follow'd not his Doctrine. *Apo.* 1532. 1. *part. ap. Lad. T.* 11. *p.* 116. 117. 118. &c. *Rud. Narr. pp. Camer. Hist. p.* 151.

Should it be ask'd, how they could own *John Huss*, as they every where do, for an Evangelical Doctor, for a *Holy Martyr*, for *their Master*, and *the Apostle of the* Bohemians, and at the same time reject, as sacrilegious, the *Mass* which their Apostle constantly said to the last, *Transubstantiation*, and the other *Dogmata* he had always stuck so closely to: their answer is, *That* John Huss *had but begun the re-establishment of the Gospel*, and they believed, *had time been given him, he would have changed a great deal more.* In the interim, he was nevertheless a *Martyr* and *Apostle*, tho' he persever'd, according to them, in such damnable practices, and the Brethren celebrated his *Martyrdom* in their Churches the eighth of *July*, as we are inform'd by *Rudiger*.

CLXXVI. Their extreme ignorance, and their presumption in pretending to re-baptize the whole World. *Camer. Hist. Narr. p.* 152. *Pag. Apol.* 1558. *Lad. T.* 11. *p.* 105.

Camerarius acknowledges their extreme ignorance, but says what he can in excuse thereof. This we may hold for certain, that God wrought no miracles to enlighten them. So many ages after the question of re-baptizing Hereticks had been determin'd by the unanimous consent of the whole Church, they were so ignorant as to re-baptize *All those that came to them from other Churches*. They persisted in this error for the space of a hundred years, as they own in all their writings, and confess in the Preface of 1558, that it was but a little while, since they were undeceived. This error ought not to be deem'd of the middling sort, since it amounted to this, that *Baptism* was lost in the universal Church,

and remain'd only amongst them. Thus presumptuous in their notions were two or three thousand men, more or less, equally revolted against the *Calixtins* amongst whom they had lived, and against the Church of *Rome*, which both of them had divided from thirty or forty years before. So small a parcel of another parcel, diminutive'd to few years ago from the *Calixtine Church*, dared to re-baptize the whole rest of the universe, and reduce the inheritance of *Jesus Christ* to a corner of *Bohemia!* they believed themselves therefore the only Christians, since they believed, they only were baptized; and whatever they might allege in their own vindication, their re-baptization condemn'd them. All they had to answer was, if they re-baptized the *Calixtins*, the Catholicks also re-baptized them. But it's well enough known, the Church of *Rome* never re-baptized any that had been baptized by whomsoever, In the name of the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*; and supposing that had been, in *Bohemia*, such very ignorant *Christians* as not to know to improve a thing, ought not that, wanting their *Ministers*, to know better? After all, how came it to pass that those new re-baptized did not call themselves to be re-baptized? If, at their coming into the World, *Baptism* had cost them nothing, all *Christianism*, that which they had received was no better worth than that of their neighbours, and by invalidating the *Baptism* of those by whom they were baptized, what became of their own? They were then obliged no less to call themselves to be re-baptized, than to re-baptize the rest of the universe; and in this, there was but one inconsistency; namely that, according to their principles, there was not a man on earth that could do them the good turn, *Re-baptize*,

equally null whatever ſide it came from. Thus it is when a *Shoe-maker* commences *Reformer*, one, as themſelves acknowledge in a Preface to their *Confeſſion* of Faith, that knew not a word of *Latin*, and was no leſs preſumptuous than ignorant. Theſe are the men whom *Proteſtants* admire. Does the queſtion turn on condemning the Church of *Rome?* they never ceaſe to upbraid her with the ignorance of her *Prieſts* and *Monks*. Is it concerning the ignorant pretenders to *reform* the Church in theſe latter ages? They are *Fiſhermen* turn'd *Apoſtles*: altho' their ignorance ſtand eternally on record, from the firſt ſtep they took. No matter; if we believe the *Lutherans* in the Preface they placed before the *Brethren's* Apology, and printed at *Wittemberg* in *Luther*'s time: if, I ſay, we believe them, 'twas in this ignorant ſociety, in this handful of men, that *The Church of God was preſerved when ſhe was thought intirely loſt.*

Conf. fol. 175. *Sect. Gen. 2. part. p. 164.*

Jac. Eccleſ. in ora. publica. Apol. Grat. Cabbiae tionis: Oxon. mia &c. ap. Lud. T. II. p. 95. CLXXVII.

Nevertheleſs, theſe remains of the *Church*, theſe depoſitaries of the ancient Chriſtianity, were themſelves aſhamed that they could not diſcover in the whole univerſe a Church of their Belief. *Camerarius* informs us, that a thought came into their heads at the beginning of their ſeparation, to make inquiry if they could find, in ſome place of the earth, and chiefly in *Greece* or *Armenia*, or ſome other part of the *Eaſt*, that Chriſtianity, of which the *Weſt* was utterly bereft, in their ſentiment. At that time, many *Grecian* Prieſts who had fled to *Bohemia* from the ſaccage of *Conſtantinople*, and to whom *Requeſane* gave reception in his own houſe, had leave to celebrate the holy Myſteries according to the rites of their Church. Therein the *Brethren* beheld their own condemnation, and beheld it ſtill more in converſing with thoſe Prieſts. But albeit

Their fruitleſs ſearch over all the univerſe after a Church of their Belief. *De Eccl. Grat. p. 91.*

these *Grecians* assured them 'twas in vain for them to travel into *Greece* in quest of Christians form'd to their mode, whom they never would find; yet they appointed three deputations of able and discreet persons, whereof some traverted all the *East*, others went northwards into *Moldavia*, and others turn'd their course towards *Palestine* and *Egypt*: whence all meeting at *Constantinople*, according to the project concerted by them, they return'd at last to *Bohemia*, and all the answer they brought to their Brethren was, that they might depend upon it, there were none of their profession in the whole Universe.

CXXXVIII. How they sought order in the Catholick Church.

Their solitude, thus definate of all *Succession* and lawful *Ordination*, raised such a horror in them, that, even in *Luther*'s time, they sent some of their people, who surreptitiously stole *Ordination* from the *Church* of *Rome*: we learn this from one of *Luther*'s treatises which is quoted in another place. A poor Church indeed, which void of the principle of fecundity left by *Jesus Christ* to the Apostles and their legitimate Successors, were forced to intrude themselves amongst us to beg, or rather, to purchase sacred Orders.

CXXXIX. Bohemian Christians twenty [illegible] *Luther* [illegible] *John Huss* [illegible]

Besides, they were upbraided by *Luther*, that they knew nothing, no more than *John Huss*, of *Justification*, the very principal point of the Gospel: for they *placed it*, proceeds he, *in Love and Good Works*, *as many Fathers had done*; *and* John Huss *was mistaken in this point*. He was in the right, for neither the *Fathers*, nor *John Huss*, nor his master *Wickliff*, neither *Occam*, nor *Hemerius*, nor *Alexander*, nor *Lombardus*, had ever known him, [illegible] of his [illegible] We [illegible] the Brethren of *Bohemia*, [illegible] *author* [illegible] *that* [illegible] *this* [illegible] *and* [illegible] *Church*

[illegible]

conſcience. Thus did *Luther* treat the moſt regular, in exterior, of all the ſchiſmatick *Reformers*, and, as was ſaid, the ſole remnant of the true Church. But he had ſoon reaſon to be ſatisfied with them: the Brethren carried *Lutheran* Juſtification ſo far, as to run blindly into the exceſs of *Calviniſts*, and even into ſuch as the *Calviniſts*, now-a-days, ſtrive to clear themſelves from. The *Lutherans* would have us juſtified without our co-operation, and without our having part therein. The *Brethren* added, it was even *without our knowing and feeling it, as an embryo is quicken'd in its mother's womb.* After our Regeneration God begins to make himſelf felt; and if *Luther* would have us know with certainty our Juſtification, the *Brethren*, over and above, would have us *intirely and indubitably* aſſured of our perſeverance and ſalvation. They went ſo far with the imputation of juſtice as to ſay, that *Sins, how enormous ſo ever, were but venial*, provided you committed them *with repugnance*, and that 'twas of theſe ſins St. *Paul* ſaid, *There is now no condemnation to them which are in Chriſt Jeſus.*

Apol. part. 4. cap. Ind. I. 11. p. 244. 248. ibi. 2. part. 172. 173. 4. part. p. 232. Ibi. part. 2. p. 168. Rom. viii. 1.

CLXXX. Their Doctrine concerning the ſeven Sacraments.

The Brethren had like us, *ſeven Sacraments* in the *Confeſſion* of 1504, which was preſented to King *Ladiſlaus*. They proved them from the Scriptures, and acknowledged them *Eſtabliſh'd for the accompliſhment of the promiſes God had made to the faithful.* They muſt have preſerved this Doctrine of the ſeven Sacraments even in *Luther*'s days, ſince he blamed them for it. The *Confeſſion* of Faith was therefore reform'd, and the *Sacraments* reduced to two; *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*, as *Luther* had ordain'd. *Abſolution* was own'd, but not in quality of a Sacrament. In 1504, they ſpoke of the *Confeſſion* of ſins as a thing of *Obligation*. This *Obligation* does no longer

Conf. fol. cap. d. Ind. I. 11. p. 8. & ſeq. ſtatuit in Apol. 1531. cap. Ind. Ind. 236. I. 11. Pon. Germ. Rev.

longer appear so express in the reform'd *Confession* where it's said only, *You ought to demand of the Priest absolution of your sins by the keys of the Church, and obtain the forgiveness of them by this ministry ordain'd for that end by Jesus Christ.*

As for the *Real Presence*, the Defenders of the *literal* and the *figurative* sense have equally strove to turn to their advantage the *Bohemian* Confessions of Faith. For my part, the thing being indifferent to me, I shall only report their words, and here is what at first they wrote to *Ruprecht*, as they themselves set forth in their *Apology*: *We believe that we receive the Body and Blood of our Lord under the species of Bread and Wine.* And a little further on: *we are sure of this truth, by understanding the words of our Lord, Take, eat, he hath given us consecrated Bread as a memorial of his Body which he pointed at with his fingers, saying,* This is my Body. *Others say, the Bread is the Body of our Lord, but in heaven, but figuratively. All these expressions appear to us far remote from our Christ's intention, and are much disagreeing to us.*

In their *Confession* of Faith of the year 1564, they speak thus: *As often as we eat the holy Bread, [illegible] this is my Body, this is my Blood, the Bread [illegible] Body of [illegible] and the Wine, the Blood [illegible] Body and the Bread and Wine in me[illegible]* And to show the firmness of their faith, they add, they would believe as much if a Angel [illegible] that it was his Body.

[illegible] *Transubstantiation* is used by [illegible] *under* [illegible] the words, and we see

de Pudic. p. 229. 2. [illegible] xxxi. xxx. [illegible] v. xiv. [illegible] de prae test. fep. of Lud. [illegible] 11 p. 15.

CLXXXI Confession [illegible] Pub. [illegible] 1532. 4. [illegible] 155.

[illegible]

ſee them there, not *in figure*, but in *truth*. What they have peculiar to them, is their requiring theſe words ſhould be pronounced by a worthy Prieſt. This is what they add to the Catholick Doctrine. To accompliſh the work of God in the Euchariſtick Bread, *Jeſus Chriſt*'s words did not ſuffice, but the Miniſter's merit was alſo neceſſary: 'tis what they had learnt from *John Wickliff* and *John Huſs*. the merit of the Miniſter.

They repeat the ſame thing in another place: *When*, ſay they, *a worthy Prieſt prays with his faithful people, and ſays*, this is my Body, this is my Blood, *immediately the Bread preſent is the ſame Body which was given up to death, and the Wine preſent, is his Blood which was ſhed for our Redemption*. It's therefore plain, they change nothing in the Catholick Doctrine as to the *Real Preſence*: on the contrary, they ſeem to make choice of the ſtrongeſt terms to confirm it, by ſaying, that *Immediately after the words, the Bread is the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame that was born of the Virgin and was to be given up to crucifixion*; *and the Wine, his true natural Blood, the ſame which was to be ſhed for our ſins*, and all this *without delay, at the very inſtant, with a Preſence moſt Real and true, præſentiſſimè*, as they ſpeak. And the *figurative* ſenſe appear'd to them, ſay they, *So odious in one of their Synods, that a certain perſon call'd* John Czizco, *one of theirs* who had dared to maintain it, was expell'd *out of their Communion*. They add that divers writings have been publiſh'd by them againſt this Preſence in ſign, and thoſe that defend it hold them for their adverſaries, call them *Papiſts*, *Antichriſts*, and *Idolaters*. CLXXXIV Strong expreſſion in favour of the *Reality*. *Apol. ad Lad. Ibid.* 42. *Proſ. fid. ad Ladiſl. Ibi. p.* 27. *Apol.* 66. &c. *Ibid. Apol.* 1532. 4. *Conf.* 290. *Ib. p.* 298. *Ibid.* *Ib. p.* 291. 299.

Another proof of their ſentiment is a ſaying of theirs, that *Jeſus Chriſt is preſent in the Bread and Wine by his Body and Blood*: otherwiſe, proceed CLXXXV. The ſame thing confirm'd. *Ibid.* 309.

ceed they, *neither those that are worthy would receive any thing but Bread and Wine, nor those that are unworthy, would be guilty of the Body and Blood, it being impossible they should be guilty of what is not there.* Whence it follows that they are there, not only for the *worthy*, but also for the *unworthy*.

CHAPTER I. The manner of their refusing *Adoration* confirms their belief of the *Real*, even out of the reception. *Abr. ad Indus. p.*

True it is, they are against our adoring *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist* for two reasons: first, because he has not commanded it; secondly, because there are two Presences of *Jesus Christ*, his personal, corporeal, and sensible Presence, which alone ought to attract our adoration; and his spiritual or sacramental Presence, which ought not to attract it. But for all this, they nevertheless acknowledge *The substance of the Body of Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament: *we are not commanded*, say they, *to honour this substance of the Body of Jesus Christ consecrated, but the substance of Jesus Christ which is at the right hand of the Father.* Here then have you in the Sacrament, and in heaven, the substance of *Jesus Christ*'s Body, but adorable in heaven and not so in the Sacrament. And lest you should wonder at this, they add, that *Jesus Christ would not even oblige men to adore him on earth when he was there present, because he wanted the time of his glory:* which shews, their intention was not to exclude the *Substantial* Presence, when they exclude adoration; on the contrary, they supposed it, since, had they not believed it, they would have had no manner of occasion to excuse themselves for not adoring in the Sacrament what, in reality, was not there.

Let us [illegible] them now, where they [illegible] Doctrine; that, to adore *Jesus Christ*, it is not sufficient we know him present, and that it was not his intention we should adore him

him on earth, but only in his glory: I am satisfied with relating what they speak of the *Real Presence*, nay of the *Real Presence* not after the manner of the *Melancthonists*, in the sole use, but immediately after the Consecration.

With these expressions apparently so distinct and so decisive for the *Real Presence*, in other places they confound themselves after so strange a manner, that it seems as if they fear'd nothing so much as leaving a clear and certain testimony of their Faith: for they repeat continually that *Jesus Christ* is not in the Eucharist *in person*. It's true, they call his being there *in person*, being there *sensibly and corporally*: expressions which they always link together, and oppose to a spiritual manner of being, acknowledged by them. But what casts them into a new confusion, is that they seem to say, *Jesus Christ* is present in the *Eucharist* with this spiritual Presence, as he is in *Baptism* and in preaching the word, as he was eaten by the ancient *Hebrews* in the desert, as St. *John Baptist* was *Elias*. Nor do I comprehend what they mean by this odd expression: *Jesus Christ* is not here *with his natural Body after an existing and corporeal manner*, *existenter & corporaliter*, but is here *spiritually*, *powerfully*, *by way of benediction*, *and in virtue*; *spiritualiter potenter*, *benedictè*, *in virtue*. What they add, is not intelligible, that *Jesus Christ is here in the abode of benediction*, to wit, according to their language, he is in the Eucharist, *As he is at the right-hand of God*, *but not as he is in the heavens*. If he be there as he is at the right-hand of God, he is there in person. Thus naturally should one conclude: but how shall we distinguish the heavens from the right-hand of God? there we are at a loss. The *Brethren* spoke distinctly when they said: *There is but one Lord Jesus*

CCCXXVII. Their uncertainty and affected ambiguities. *Appel. ad Princ. Ibid. p.* 68. 69. &c. 71. 73. *Ibid. p.* 301. 306. 307. 309. 311. &c. *Ibid. p.* 302. 304. 307. 308. *Ibid.* 74. *Ibid.* *Ibid. p.* 71.

Jeſus Chriſt, [illegible] *in the Sacrament with his natural Body, yet he is after another manner than at the right hand of his Father: for it is one thing to ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt, this is my Body; and another to ſay, he is there after ſuch a manner.* But no ſooner had they deliver'd their minds in plain terms, than they bewilder themſelves in [illegible] ſubtiliz'd notions, into which they are [illegible] by the confuſion and uncertainty of their minds and thoughts, together with a vain deſire of contenting both parties of the *Reformation.*

[illegible] The *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* both ſtrive to draw them to their ſide. They incline to the [illegible] *Part.* 2.

The forwarder they advanced, they became ſtill more important and myſterious; and as the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* ſtrove each to gain them; ſo they alſo, on their ſide, ſeem'd inclined to content both Parties. At length, this is what they ſaid in [illegible], and what they appear'd reſolved to ſtand by. They complain at firſt, they were accuſed *of not believing that the Preſence of the true Body and true Blood was preſent.* What odd expreſſions, *Preſence* to be *preſent!* thus they ſpeak in the Preface: but teach in the Body of the *Confeſſion, that it ought to be acknowledged that the Bread is the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Cup his true Blood, without adding any* [illegible]. But whilſt they [illegible] to the word of *Jeſus Chriſt,* they themſelves add to them the word [illegible] and whereas *Jeſus Chriſt* [illegible] *Body,* they ſuppoſe he ſaid, *The* [illegible] very different things, as [illegible]. Now if it were [illegible] what they might [illegible] Preſence [illegible] no leſs [illegible]

[illegible]

light, and leaving the queſtions undecided. 'Twas for this reaſon *Calvin* wrote to them, that he could not approve *of their obſcure and captious brevity*, and required them to explain *how the Bread is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*; which ſhould they fail to do, he maintain'd, *their Confeſſion of Faith could not be ſubſcribed without peril, and would occaſion great diſputes*. But *Luther* was ſatisfied with them, by reaſon they drew near to his expreſſions, and were more inclined towards the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*. For they even continued to complain of thoſe, *Who denied that the Bread and Wine were the true Body and true Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*, and who call'd them *Papiſts*, *Idolaters*, *and Antichriſts*, on account of their acknowledging the *true Preſence*. Finally, to ſhew how far they were leaning to the ſide of the *Real Preſence*, they injoin their Miniſters, in diſtributing this Sacrament, and *in reciting the words of our Lord*, *to exhort the people* to believe *that the Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt is preſent*; and in this view, they injoin likewiſe, altho' in other reſpects little inclined to adoration, *That the Sacrament be received kneeling*.

Calv. Ep. a Wald. p. 312. & ſ. q.

Ibid. 195.

Ibid. 336.

By thus expounding and thus palliating as already ſeen, they ſo contented *Luther*, that he prefixt his approbation to a *Confeſſion* of Faith publiſh'd by them, declaring however, *That for this bout they not only appear'd more adorn'd, more free, and more poliſh'd, but alſo more conſiderable, and better*; which ſufficiently intimates, he approved their *Confeſſion* only inaſmuch as it had been reform'd agreeably to his maxims.

CXCIX. *Luther* gives them his approbation and how. *Ibid.* p. 211.

CXC. Their Feſtivals, their Churches, their Faſts, the celibacy of their Prieſts.

It does not appear, that any uneaſineſs was given them in regard of the ſtated *Faſts* preſerved amongſt them, nor in regard of the *Feſtivals* they celebrated, forbidding all labour: not only in honour of our *Lord*, but alſo of the *Bleſſed Virgin*

Art. xv. [illegible] *Virgin* and the *Saints*. They were not upbraided that this was observing days contrary to the precept of the Apostle, nor that these holy days in honour of the Saints, were so many acts of *Idolatry*. Neither were they accused of raising Churches to Saints, under pretext they continued, as we do, to name the Church of the Virgin, *in Templo divæ Virginis*, of St *Peter*, of St. *Paul*, Churches consecrated to God in memory of them. They are likewise suffer'd to injoin their *Priests* Celibacy and degrade them from Priesthood upon marrying, for this unquestionably was their practice no less than that of the *Interim*. All this is harmless in the *Brethren*; in us only every thing is rank poison.

CXCI. The perpetual Virginity of *Mary* Mother of God. [illegible] *Lyd.* p. 3. *Art.* [illegible] p. 201.

I would also have them ask'd, where they find in *Scripture* what they fly of the *Blessed Virgin*: *That she was a Virgin before and after her delivery*. It's true, this was the belief of the holy Fathers, and the contrary rejected by them for no less than an execrable blasphemy: yet does it nevertheless evince that many things may be accounted blasphemies, the contrary to which is no where in holy Writ; so that, when they boast of speaking nothing but from *Scripture*, fairly they mean no more by it than that it serves their turn to talk in this strain: nor is the apparent respect for the *Scripture* any thing in them but a bind to the ignorant and simple.

CXCII. They [illegible] was *Pr[illegible]*

It's asserted that these *Bohemian* Brethren (whose words were so weak and respectful in regard of higher powers, the more they expiated on the *Lord's Supper*, so likewise the more did the [illegible] in their liturgies and writs. [illegible] *Sarav.* [illegible] *part* [illegible] 212.

[illegible] *Paul*, and it appears from a letter of *M*[illegible]

to the Proteſtants of *Poland* in 1556, that it was but a few years ſince *theſe Fugitives from* Bohemia were received *into that Kingdom.*

CXCIII. There they unite with the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* in the aſſembly of *Sendomir.* MDLXX. *Syntag. Gen.* 2. *part. p.* 218. *Ibi. p.* 219.

Some time after this, was brought about the union of the three *Proteſtant* Sects of *Poland*, namely, of the *Lutherans*, the *Bohemians*, and the *Zuinglians*. The act of union paſt in 1570, at the *Synod* of *Sendomir*, and bears this title: *The union and mutual agreement made betwixt the Churches of* Poland; *to-wit, betwixt thoſe of the* Ausburg-*Confeſſion, thoſe of the Confeſſion of the* Bohemian *Brethren, and thoſe of the Confeſſion of the* Helvetick *Churches*, or *Zuinglians*. In this act the *Bohemians* ſtyle themſelves, *the Brethren of* Bohemia *whom the ignorant call* Vaudois. It appears then manifeſtly that the queſtion here was about thoſe *Vaudois* who, by miſtake, were named ſo, as we have ſhewn, and who accordingly diſclaim this origin. For in regard of the ancient *Vaudois*, we learn from an old author that there were ſcarce any of them *in the kingdom of* Cracovia, namely in that of *Poland, no more than in* England, *in the Low-countries, in* Denmark, *in* Sweden, *in* Norway, and in *Pruſſia*; and ſince this author's time, this little number is ſo dwindled away to nothing, that in all theſe countries we hear no more mention of them.

Pelin. Cont. Wald. c. 15. *l.* 1. *Bib. PP. 2. part. p.* 755.

CXCIV. Term of the *Sendomir* agreement.

The agreement was made in theſe terms. In order to explain therein the point concerning the *Supper*, the whole article of the *Saxonick Confeſſion*, where this matter is handled, was there tranſcribed. We have ſeen that *Melanchton* drew up this *Confeſſion* in 1551, in order to have it preſented at *Trent*. In it was ſaid, that *Jeſus Chriſt is truly and ſubſtantially preſent in the Communion, and is given truly to thoſe who receive the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* To which

Vid. ſup. l. 1. *chap.* 18. *Syntag. Gen.* 1. *part. p.* 160. 2. *p.* 72.

Bi. p. 146.

which they add in a strange manner of expression, *That the substantial Presence of Jesus Christ is not only signified, but truly receiv'd present, distributed, and given to the faithful*; *the signs not being naked, but join'd to the thing itself, agreeably to the nature of the Sacraments.*

CXCV. In the agreement, the *Lutherans* more than all he will recede from their particular tenets.

The Substantial Presence, it seems, was very much at heart, when in order to reconcile it the more forcibly, they said, it was not only signified *but truly present*: but I always dislike those strong expressions of the *Reformation*, which the more she diminishes the *truth* of the Body and Blood in the *Eucharist*, is always the more rich in words; as if she could repair by them the loss she sustains in things. Now when you come to the point, altho' this declaration abounds with equivocal expressions, and leaves subterfuges to each Party whereby to preserve their particular Doctrine; 'tis nevertheless the *Lutherans* that take the greatest steps, since whereas they said in their *Confession* that the Body of our Lord being in heaven *absent from us*, becomes present to us only [illegible], the terms of the agreement import, that *Jesus Christ is substantially present* to us; and notwithstanding all the rules of human language, a *Presence in Virtue*, becomes intuitively, a *Presence substantial*.

CXCVI. Wherein the *Lutherans* recede, and in what consists the *Reformed*.

They agree to the agreement which it were easy for the *Lutherans* to reconcile to their Doctrine, and not much more themselves, in the new [illegible] to explain every thing to their own [illegible]. For indeed, they seem much to depart from [illegible] that they are in, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is taken in the mouth even by the [illegible] which they lay to the agreement, *[illegible]*. But let it be that they may say, they spoke in this manner, by reason the

the *Real Presence* is not known but by Faith; they may also add that, in fact, there are blessings in the *Supper* which are given to the *Believers* only, as life eternal and the nourishment of the soul, and 'tis those they mean when they say, *The signs give by Faith what they signify.*

CXCVII. Disposition of the *Bohemian* Brethren.

I do not wonder the *Bohemians* sign'd this agreement without difficulty. Separated about forty or fifty years before from the *Catholick* Church, and reduced to allow *Christianity* in no part of the world except a corner of *Bohemia*, which they inhabited; upon seeing the *Protestants* appear, all they thought of was, to support themselves with their protection. They knew how to gain *Luther* by their submission: by equivocating, they had all could be desired from *Bucer*: the *Zuinglians* suffer'd themselves to be sooth'd by the general expressions of the *Brethren* who said, yet without practising it, that nothing ought to be added to the words our *Saviour* used. The hardest to be pleased was *Calvin*. We have seen in the letter he wrote to the *Bohemian Brethren*, who had taken refuge in *Poland*, how he blamed the ambiguity of their *Confession* of Faith, and declared there was no subscribing it without opening an inlet to dissention or error.

Ep. ad Wal. p. 317.

CXCVIII. Reflexions on this union.

Contrary to his judgment all was subscribed, the *Helvetick* Confession, the *Bohemian*, and the *Saxonick*, the *Presence* of *Substance* together with that of *Virtue* only; namely, the two contrary Doctrines with their equivocations favouring them both. All whatever they pleased was added to our *Lord*'s words, even at the time they ratified the *Confession* of Faith wherein was laid down for a maxim, that nothing ought to be added to them: all pass'd, and a peace was concluded by this means. You see how all the Sects, divided

vided from *Catholick* unity, separate and unite among themselves: separating from the *Chair* of St. *Peter*, they separate from one another, and bear the just punishment of despising the band of their unity. When they re-unite in appearance, they are never the more united in the main, and their union, concerted only by political interests, serves but to evidence by a new proof, that they have not so much as the idea of *Christian* unity; since they never do unite *in eadem mente, in eadem sententia*, as St. *Paul* ordains.

CXCIX. May it be allow'd us at present to make a few reflections on the history of the *Lazarists*, the *Philadelphians*, and the *Behemenists*. You see whether the *Protestants* had reason to reckon them among their ancestors; whether this extraction be to their credit; and in particular, whether they ought not to look'd on *Behemen*, since the time of *John* [illegible] *Mede* [illegible] *Chandler*. It's more visible than the Sun, on each side, that they only bring in these Sects [illegible] of [illegible] what [illegible] the other, [illegible] what [illegible] [illegible] *P*[illegible]

[illegible] They ought to consider that all these Sects to different [illegible] *P*[illegible]

hath produced all those errors and all those contrarieties which we have observed. Under the pretext of *Scripture*, every man has follow'd his own notions; and the *Scripture* taken in this way, so far from uniting minds, hath divided them, and made every one worship the delusions of his own brain under the name of eternal verities.

CCI. Last and most important reflexion concerning the accomplishment of St. *Paul*'s prediction. 1 *Tim.* iv.

But there still remains the last, and by much the most important reflexion to be made on all these things we have just seen in this contracted history of the *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*. There we discover the reason of the *Holy Ghost*'s inspiring St. *Paul*, with this prophecy: *The spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing spirits,* 1. *and doctrines of devils; speaking lyes in hypocrisy,* 2. *having their conscience sear'd with a hot iron;* 3. *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,* 4. *which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God,* 5. *and prayer.* All the holy Fathers are agreed that this is meant of the impious Sect of *Marcionites* and *Manichæans*, who taught two Principles, and attributed to the *evil* one the Creation of the universe; which made them detest the propagation of mankind, and the use of many kinds of food which they believed unclean and bad in their nature, as being produced by a Creator who himself was bad and impure. St. *Paul* points therefore at these accursed Sects by these two their so noted tenets; and without previously mentioning the principle, whence they drew these two evil consequences, he sets himself to express the two sensible characters whereby we have seen these infamous Sects were known in all times.

[illegible]

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But altho' St. *Paul* does not immediately express the disparagement, why these deceivers forbad the use of two things to natural; he denotes it sufficiently further on, when he says in opposition to these errors, that every *creature of God is good*, overthrowing by this principle the detestable sentiment of those that defined impurity in the works of God, and making us withal sensible that the root of this evil lay in not knowing the Creation, and in blaspheming the Creator. Accordingly, 'tis what St. *Paul* calls, in particular, more than all other Doctrines, *the Doctrines of Devils*, there being nothing more suitable to the jealousy against God and against men of these seducing spirits, than to attack the Creation, condemn God's works, blaspheme against the author of the law and the law itself, and defile human nature with all manner of impurities and illusions. For this is what *Marcion* consisted in, and what truly is the very Doctrine of Devils; especially if you add those inchantments and impostures, which [illegible] were so frequently [illegible] it. To wrest now the plain and natural sense of St. *Paul* against those, who [illegible] both Marriage and all sorts of meats to be [illegible] ordinances of God, [illegible] to mortify the [illegible] and purify the mind, is a [illegible], and which we have been long [illegible] by the Fathers. It is then very probable whom St. *Paul* aim'd at, nor [illegible] those [illegible] to accurately [illegible] their proper character.

Why [illegible], as well to many Heretics, as Christians, [illegible] to expatiate, was the [illegible] of the *Law*, and what they endeavour'd to [illegible], the [illegible] they were able, in [illegible] age. But time, the [illegible] interpreter

preter of prophecies, has discover'd to us the deep cause; nor shall we wonder any more that the *Holy Ghost* was so particularly careful to forewarn us against this Sect, after having seen, 'twas this that infected Christianity, the longest, and the most dangerously: the longest, thro' so many ages as we have seen the world infected by it: and the most dangerously, not making a glaring breach from the Church like the rest, but lurking, as much as was possible, within her precincts, and insinuating herself under the appearances of the same Faith, the same Worship, and even an astonishing shew of piety. For this reason St. *Paul* the Apostle so expresly points out its *Hypocrisy*. Never has the spirit of *lying*, remark'd by this Apostle, been so justly charged on any Sect, since besides its teaching, like the rest, a false Doctrine, it exceeded all others in dissembling its belief. We have observed, that these wretches allow'd every thing you pleased: they made nothing of lying in the most material points; they stuck not at perjury to conceal their tenets; their readiness in betraying their consciences shew'd in them a certain insensibility, which St. *Paul* admirably well expresses by the *caustick* which renders the flesh insensible by mortifying it, as the learned *Theodoret* hath observed on this place: nor do I think, ever prophecy could have been verified by more sensible characters than this has been.

only in particular foretold *Manichæism*. Character of this Heresy. Hypocrisy. Spirit of lying. Conscience cauterized.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Comm. in hunc locum.

CCIV. Sequel of the reasons why the Holy Ghost has point'd out this Heresy more than the rest.

No longer are we to wonder why the *Holy Ghost* would have the prediction of this Heresy to be so particular and distinct. 'Twas more than all other Heresies the error *of the latter times*, as it's call'd by St. *Paul*, whether we understand by the latter times, according to the Scripture-style, all the times of the new law; or understand by them that period of ages when

Satan was *to be loosed a-new*. So long since as the second and third Century, the Church beheld the rise of *Cerdon*, of *Marcion*, of *Manes*, those enemies to the Creator. The seeds of this Doctrine are every where to be met with: you [illegible] them in *Tertullian*, who [illegible] *Marcion* and [illegible] tribe, [illegible] *Christ's* [illegible] *Book of the* [illegible] [illegible] Sects but attack'd [illegible] God [illegible] even before *Manes* and *Marcion*; [illegible] *Irenæus*, that this Heresy did [illegible] to the impieties of *Simon* the *Magician*. Thus did this Heresy commence from the very beginning of Christianity: 'twas the same *Mystery of iniquity*, which fell to work in St. *Paul's* time: but the Holy Ghost, who foresaw this pestilence was one day to rage in a more glaring manner, made it be foretold by this Apostle with an astonishing evidence and distinctness. *Marcion* and *Manes* have set this Mystery of iniquity in a more manifest light: the abominable Sect hath held on its pestilent progress ever since that time. This we have seen, and never did Heresy disturb the Church for a longer date, nor spread its branches to a greater distance. But since that, by the eminent Doctrine of St. *Irenæus*, by St. *Jerom* and St. *Gregory*'s [illegible] and diligence, it was extinguish'd [illegible] in the *East*, and even in *Rome*, where it had [illegible] its birth; then was [illegible] term of years' [illegible] looked out of [illegible] *All* [illegible] was after that *Christ* [illegible] at his coming into the world, the spirit of error grew up more than ever; the remains of *Manichæism*, too well [illegible] in the *East*, broke in upon the *Latin* Church. What hitherto [illegible] on

Dan. 1 *Tim.* iv. *Luke* xx. 3 *Tim.* iii.

Rev. xx.

[illegible]

those miserable times as one of the periods of *Satan's* being loosed, without prejudice to the other more hidden meanings? If *Gog* and *Magog* only be wanting to fulfil this prophecy, we shall find in *Armenia*, near *Samosata*, the Province named *Gogarene* where the *Paulicians* dwelt, and *Magog* amongst the *Scythians* from whence the *Bulgarians* took their rise. Thence came those numberless enemies of *the beloved City* who first assaulted *Italy*. The contagion flew, in an instant, to the extremity of the *North*: a spark raises a great combustion; the flame almost spreads over the whole face of the universe. In all parts of it is discover'd this lurking poison; together with *Manicheism*, *Arianism* with all kind of Heresies shoot up again under unheard of and uncouth names. Scarce could it be compass'd to quench this fire in the space of three or four hundred years, and even some of its remains might be seen in the fifteenth Century.

Rev. xx. 7. Ezek. xxxviii. 2. Rev. iii. 13.

Rev. xx. 8.

CCV. How the *Paulicians* came from the *Albigeois Manicheans.*

Nor did the evil cease, when nothing seem'd left of it but its ashes. *Satan* had supplied the impious Sect wherewith to renew the conflagration, in a manner more dangerous than ever. Church-discipline was relax'd over all the earth; the disorders and abuses, carried even to the foot of the Altar, made the good to sigh, humbled them, urg'd them on to improve still more in their virtuous courses: but wrought a far different effect on the sower and proud-minded. The *Roman Church*, the Mother and Bond of Churches, became the object of hatred to all indecil tempers: invenom'd satires spirit up the world against the Clergy; the *Manichean* hypocrite trumpets them over the whole universe, and gives the name of *Antichrist* to the *Church* of *Rome*, for then was that notion broach'd, in the sink of *Manicheism*, and amidst the precursors of *Anti-*

christ himself. These impious men imagine, they appear more holy, when they say, holiness is essentially requisite to the administration of the Sacraments. The ignorant *Vaudois* swallow down this potion. No longer will they receive the Sacraments from odious and detam'd Ministers: *the net is broken* on all sides, and Schisms multiply. *Satan* no longer stands in need of *Manichæism*: hatred against the *Church* is wide-diffused: the viperous Sect hath left a brood like to itself, and a too fruitful principle of Schism. No matter, tho' these Heretricks have not the same Doctrine, they are sway'd by hatred and bitterness, and banded against the *Church*; this is enough. The *Vaudois* believe not like the *Albigenses*; but, like the *Albigenses*, they hate the *Church*, and proclaim themselves the only Saints, the only Ministers of the *Sacraments*. *Wickliff* believes not like the *Vaudois*; but *Wickliff* proclaims, like the *Vaudois*, that the *Pope* and his whole *Clergy* have forfeited all authority by their loose behaviour. *John Huss* does not believe like *Wickliff*, tho' he admires him: what he admires in him chiefly, and almost only follows in him is, that crimes annul authority. These despicable *Bohemians*, as we have seen, succeeded to this spirit, which they particularly made appear, when amounting to no more than a handful of illiterate men, they pretend'd to reformed the whole world.

Luke v. 6

CCVI. How the Schism [illegible]

But a still greater *Apostasy* was hatching by means of these Sects. The world teeming with animosities, [illegible] with *Luther* and *Calvin*, who cannot [illegible] the Apostacy is different, but the foundation is the same; 'tis still hatred against the Clergy and the Church of *Rome*, and no man of ingenuity can deny, that this was the visible cause of their surprising progress.

greſs. A *Reformation* was neceſſary: who denies it? but it was ſtill more neceſſary, to refrain from Schiſm. Were thoſe, that promoted this Schiſm by their preachments, any better than their neighbours? they made as if they were; this was enough to delude and *ſpread like a canker*, according to St. *Paul*'s expreſſion. The world was ſet on condemning and rejecting their leaders; this is call'd *Reformation*. A ſpecious name dazzles the people, and to ſtir up hatred, calumny is not ſpared; thus is our Doctrine blacken'd; men hate it before they know it.

2 Tim. ii. 17.

CCVII. *The Proteſtant Churches* ſeek in vain a ſucceſſion of perſons in the preceding Sects.

With new Doctrines, new bodies of Churches are erected. The *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* make the two greateſt: but they cannot find in the whole earth ſo much as one *Church* that believes like them, nor whence they can derive an ordinary and lawful miſſion. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenſes*, alledged by ſome, are not to their purpoſe. We have but juſt ſhewn them to be meer Lay-men, as much puzzled to make out their own miſſion and title, as thoſe that ſeek their aid. We know, the *Touloufian* Hereticks were never able to delude ſo much as one Prieſt. The Preachers of the *Vaudois* were trading or mechanick men, nay women. The *Bohemians* had no better an original, as already proved; and when *Proteſtants* name us all theſe Sects, they name not their Fathers, but Accomplices.

CCVIII. Much leſs do they find in them a ſucceſſion of Doctrine.

But perchance, tho' they don't meet, in theſe Sects, with a ſucceſſion of *perſons*, they will meet in them, with a ſucceſſion of *Doctrine*. Much leſs: in certain reſpects like to the *Huſſites*; in others, like the *Vaudois*; in ſome like the *Albigenſes* and the other Sectaries; in other articles, they are quite contrary to them: in this manner, without lighting upon any thing that is uniform,

and

and laying hold here and there of what seems to suit them, without at [illegible] tion, without unity, without true [illegible], they climb to what height they can. They are not the first to reject the honour [illegible] to Saints, nor the *Donatists* for the Dead: they and before their days, bodies of Churches of this same belief in these two points. The *Bessemians* embraced them: but we have seen that *Bessemians* seek in vain for associates thro' the world. However, here is a *Church* at least before *Luther*: this is something to such as have nothing. But after all, this *Church* before *Luther* is but fifty years before him: they must strive to advance higher: they'll find the *Lazarists*, and a little more distant, the *Manichees* of *Persia*. They'll find, in the fourth age, the *Manichees* of *Africa* opposite to the worship of Saints. One only *Vigilantius* follows them in this particular point: but higher than this no certain author can be found, yet thereon depends the strength of the question. They may go a little farther as to *Oblations* for the Dead. The Priest *Aerius* will appear, but alone, and without followers; an *Arian* into the bargain: this is all can be found that's positive; whatever [illegible] this, will be built manifestly on the [illegible]. But as to what they will call over [illegible] *Pope*, and remember, the question [illegible], positive and certain [illegible] *Church* is not the first who made [illegible] *Saints* not made the *Bless*: *Bless* [illegible] as much four hundred years as [illegible], [illegible] Certainly. Yet in other [illegible] the first, these *Monkeys* of *Christ* [illegible] and the Lance, and the world [illegible] the rumour of these old Dis[illegible] [illegible] nothing of it was packed up

[illegible]

by *Berengarius*. Beyond this, I find many pretensions and actions lodged against us concerning this subject, but no avert'd and positive facts.

CCIX. What is the succession of *Heretick*.

Now the *Socinians* have a more manifest succession: catching up a word here and another there, they will name declared enemies of *Jesus Christ*'s divinity in all Ages, and at the top of them will find *Cerinthus* next to the Apostles. For all their discovering something concordant among so many, in other respects discording witnesses, they will be never the better founded, since, when all is said, *Succession* and *Uniformity* are wanting to them. To take the thing thus, namely, should each of them, in patching up their several Churches, collect here and there without band of union, all that could be found conformable to their sentiments; there is no difficulty, as might have been observed, to trace the extraction of every Sect seen at this day, or ever to be seen, even up to *Simon* the Magician, and to that *Mystery of iniquity* which began in the time of St. *Paul*. 2 *Thess.* ii. 7.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

VARIATIONS

Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XII.

From the Year 1571, *to* 1579, *and from* 1603, *till the Year* 1615.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The reformed Churches disturb'd about the word Substance *even in* France. *It's maintain'd as grounded on the word of God in one* Synod, *and in another brought to nothing in favour of the* Swiss *who were angry with the* [illegible]. *One Faith for* France, *and another for* Switzerland. *Assembly of* Francktort, *and a project of a new* Confession *of Faith for the whole general party of* Protestants; *what was [illegible] in favour of the* Lutherans. *Disputation of the* Real Presence *established, and [illegible] at the same time.* Piscator's *opinion, and the [illegible] of a new national* Synod, *[illegible]. Principles of the* Casuists, [illegible] Dr. Morney's [illegible] the Synod of Ay[illegible] and [illegible] Reformation.

THE

THE union of *Sendomir* had not its effect except in *Poland*. In *Switzerland*, the *Zuinglians* continued steady to reject equivocations. The *French* began already to join in their sentiments. Many maintain'd openly, it was requisite to discard the word *Substance*, and change the thirty sixth article of the *Confession* of Faith presented to *Charles* the ninth, wherein the *Supper* was explain'd. It was not particular men that made this dangerous proposal, but whole *Churches*, even the chief *Churches*, those of the *Isle* of *France* and *Brie*, that of *Paris*, that of *Meaux*, where the exercise of *Calvinism* commenced, and others neighbouring to them. These *Churches* were for changing so considerable an article of their *Confession* of Faith, which they had publish'd but ten years before as containing nothing but the pure word of God: this must have too much discredited the new Party. The *Synod* of *Rochelle*, wherein *Beza* presided, resolved to condemn these *Reformers* of the *Reformation* in 1571.

I. Many pretended-reform'd Churches of *France* are for changing the article of the *Supper* in their Confession of Faith.

MDLXXI.

The case required a clear and distinct sentence. The Contest being on foot, and the Parties present, there needed no more than to decide in few words: but brevity is the fruit of clear conceptions only. Behold therefore word for word what was concluded; and I ask only to be allow'd to divide the decree into three parts, and to recite them severally.

II. The national *Synod* condemns them. The *Synod*'s decision full of perplexities.

They begin by rejecting what is evil, and their condemnations fall justly enough. To fix upon any thing, will be the grand difficulty; but let us read. *Concerning the thirty sixth article of the Confession of Faith, the Deputies of the Isle of* France *represented, that it would be requisite to explain this article, inasmuch as it speaks of the participation*

participation of the Substance of Jesus Christ. After a sentence of four [illegible]*, the Synod* [illegible] *the* [illegible] [illegible] REJECTS THE OPINION *of those* [illegible] *receive the word Substance, by which* [illegible] *to be understood* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *or a* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *the conjunction,* [illegible] *whereas Jesus Christ* [illegible] *and* [illegible] *and we* [illegible] *Body, whether* [illegible] *which we* [illegible] *that of his Substance and* [illegible] *substances and persons, there should* [illegible] *third person, and substance,* [illegible] THAT HIS VIRTUE *and* [illegible] *our salvation, be by this means,* [illegible] *given and communicated to us,* [illegible] *we* [illegible] *joined* [illegible] WITH HIS MERITS AND GIFTS AND WITH HIS HOLY SPIRIT [illegible] *be* [illegible]. Here an abundance of words and [illegible] 'Tis no commentary either [illegible] who knows not that it has nothing in common with the vulgar [illegible] the manner of it entirely [illegible] spiritual [illegible] qualities [illegible] ever dreamt, [illegible] of the Substance of Jesus Christ united to our [illegible] third [illegible] a third Substance? [illegible] both [illegible] rejected [illegible] into any man's [illegible]

[illegible] It [illegible] that who [illegible] but the merits of Jesus Christ [illegible] in the Spirit, [illegible] it was only [illegible] given [illegible] of his Holy [illegible] Body [illegible] part in [illegible]

thing to be explain'd. *Catholicks* do this very clearly, for they say, *Jesus Christ* in pronouncing *This is my Body*, the same *that was given for you*; *This is my Blood*, the same *that was shed for you*, designs, not the *Figure* of it, but the *Substance*, the which, in saying, *Take*, he renders wholly ours, there being nothing more ours than that which is given us in this manner. This speaks; this is intelligible. Instead of delivering themselves thus clearly and distinctly, we shall see our Ministers lose themselves in rambling from the point, heap texts on texts without concluding any thing. Let us return to where we left off; here is what presents itself: *Not consenting*, proceed they, *with those who say, we join ourselves to his merits and his gifts and his spirit only, you rather marvelling with the Apostle* Ephes. 5. *at this secret, supernatural and incomprehensible to our reason, we believe that we are made partakers of the Body given for us and the Blood shed for us*; *that we be* Flesh of his Flesh and Bone of his Bones, *and receive him together with all his gifts with him by Faith engender'd in us by the incomprehensible influence and power of his holy spirit*; *thus understanding that which is said*, whoso eateth the Flesh and drinketh the Blood hath life everlasting. *Item*, Christ is the vine and we the branches, and *that he maketh us* abide in him to the end we may bring forth fruit, and *that we be* members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones. They are certainly afraid of being understood, or rather do not understand themselves; thus clogging their meaning with so many useless words, so many intricate phrases, such a confused jumble of crowded texts. For after all, what they have to shew is, how much those are in the wrong who, refusing to acknowledge, in the *Eucharist*, any other

use of the pretended reform'd Church. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. Luke xxii. 19, 20. 1 Cor. xi. 24.

communication than that of the *merits* and *spirit* of *Jesus Christ*, discard from this mystery *The proper Substance of his Body and Blood*. Now this is what no wise appears in any of these numerous texts. These texts conclude, only that we receive something flowing from *Jesus Christ* in order to enliven us, as members receive from the *Head* the spirit which animates them; but don't at all conclude for our receiving the *proper Substance* of his Body and Blood. None of these texts, except one only, namely that of St. *John* vi. relate at all to the *Eucharist*; neither does that of St. *John* vi. if we believe the *Calvinists*, relate to it. And if this text, well understood, shews indeed in the *Eucharist* the proper *Substance* of *Jesus Christ*'s Flesh and Blood, yet it does not shew it, in the manner it's here employ'd by the Ministers, since the upshot of their discourse concludes at length in this, that *We receive Jesus Christ together with all his gifts, with Love by Faith, engrav'd in us.* Now *Jesus Christ by Faith engrav'd in us*, is nothing less than *Jesus Christ* united to us in the proper and true Substance of his Flesh and Blood; the first of these being no more than moral, wrought by pious affections of the mind; and the second, being physical, is real and immediate of Body to Body, and of Substance to Substance: thus does this great *Synod* expound no thing less than what it proposes to expound.

IV. Proof of the synod which gives the Mystery of the *Eucharist* with a proper *Substance*.

I observe in the *Decrees*, that the *Calvinists* having undertook to explain the Mystery of the *Eucharist*, and to this Mystery the proper *Substance* of *Jesus Christ*'s Body and Blood, which is represented to us, [illegible] to us far different things from it, when [illegible] *This is my Flesh*, *This is my Blood*, [illegible] they are very [illegible], should they say, [illegible] would import the proper [illegible] Body and Blood, they would be in [illegible]

making clearly appear, our Lord's design was to express the Body and Blood not in *figure*, nor even in *virtue*, but in *effect*, in *truth*, and in *Substance*. Thus this *Substance* must have been, not only by Faith, in the minds and thoughts of the faithful, but in effect, and in truth, under the sacramental *species* where *Jesus Christ* denotes it, and thereby, even in our bodies, whereinto we are order'd to receive it, to the end that we might, all kinds of ways, enjoy our *Saviour* and participate of our victim.

V. The synod's reason for establishing the *Substance*. They conclude the other opinion to be contrary to God's word.

Now, whereas the decree had not cited any one text that concluded for the *proper Substance*, the thing in question, but rather had excluded it by shewing *Jesus Christ* united *by Faith* only; they come back at length to the *Substance* by the following words: *And in fact, as we derive our death from the first* Adam, *inasmuch as we partake of his substance; so is it requisite, we should partake truly of the second* Adam *Christ Jesus, that we may derive our life from him. Wherefore all Pastors, and in general, all the faithful shall be exhorted to give no way, in any kind, to opinions contrary to the above Doctrine, which is grounded* EXPRESLY ON THE WORD OF GOD.

VI. The Synod says more than it designed.

The *Holy Fathers* made use of this comparison of *Adam* to shew, that *Jesus Christ* ought to be in us otherwise than by Faith and affection, or morally: for 'tis not by affection and thought only, that *Adam* and parents are in their children; 'tis by the communication of the same Blood, and the same Substance: and therefore the union we have with our parents, and by their means with *Adam*, from whom we are all descended, is not only moral, but physical and substantial. The Fathers have thence concluded, that the new *Adam* ought to be in us after a manner equally physical and substantial, to the end that

we might derive immortality from him, as from our first parent we derive mortality. Accordingly, 'tis what they have found, and much more abundantly, in the *Eucharist* than in ordinary generation, for that 'tis not a portion of the Blood and Substance, but the whole Substance and the whole Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ* which is therein communicated to us. To say now with the Ministers, that this communication is wrought barely by *Faith*, is not only to weaken the comparison, but also to annihilate the Mystery, and deprive it of its Substance; and whereas it is more abundantly in *Jesus Christ* than in *Adam*, 'tis making it to be much less in him, or rather not at all.

VII. A point of Doctrine was in question among them.

Thus do our Doctors confound themselves, and the more pains they take to speak their minds, the more do they obscure the subject. Nevertheless, through all these mists you discern plainly, that among the defenders of the *figurative* sense, there was in reality an opinion which admitted nothing in the *Eucharist* but the gifts and merits of *Jesus Christ*, or at most, nothing but his Spirit, not the proper *Substance* of his Flesh and Blood; but this opinion was expressly contrary to the word of God, and not to have any admittance amongst the faithful.

VIII. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] more to [illegible], who were the [illegible] of this opinion: 'twas the [illegible] the [illegible] of *Zwingius*, and such of the *French* [illegible] their sentiment would fain reform [illegible] And this was the reason that the [illegible] were presently found to complain, thinking [illegible] their own condemnation in the [illegible] of *Zwingius*, and the fraternity in him; nay, [illegible] notwithstanding the soft [illegible] to the contrary, their Doctrine was condemned in the [illegible] as contrary to the word of God, with ex-

press

preſs exhortation to allow it no ſhelter among the Paſtors or the faithful.

Under this perſuaſion they wrote to *Beza*, and the anſwer return'd them was ſurpriſing. *Beza* was order'd to acquaint them, that the decree of the Synod of *Rochelle* did not regard them, but only certain *French-men*; ſo that there was a *Confeſſion* of Faith for *France*, and another for *Switzerland*, as if Faith varied according to the climate, and it were not equally true, that in *Chriſt Jeſus*, there is neither *Swiſs* nor *French-man*, as it is true, according to St. *Paul*, that there is *neither* Scythian, *nor* Greek. To this *Beza* added, in order to calm the *Swiſs*, that *the Churches of* France *deteſted the ſubſtantial and carnal Preſence*, together with the monſters of *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Conſubſtantiation*. Here then, by the by, we have the *Lutherans* as ill-handled as the *Catholicks*, and their Doctrine accounted no leſs monſtrous; but this only in writing to the *Swiſs*: we have ſeen how far they are able to ſoften matters when they write to the *Lutherans*, and how tender they are then of *Conſubſtantiation*.

IX. The Synod anſwers them by *Beza*, that the Doctrine only regards *France*. The *Lutherans* as well as *Catholicks* deteſted as defenders of a monſtrous opinion. *Coloſ.* iii. 11. *Hoſp.* 1571. *f.* 344.

The *Swiſs* would not be gull'd with theſe ſubtilties of the *Synod* of *Rochelle*, but were very ſenſible, they themſelves were attack'd under the name of theſe *French-men*. *Bullinger*, Miniſter of *Zurick*, who was order'd to anſwer *Beza*, made no difficulty of telling him, they were in fact the people condemn'd: *You condemn*, anſwer'd he, *thoſe who reject the word Proper Subſtance; and who is ignorant that we are of this number?* What *Beza* had added, againſt the *carnal* and *ſubſtantial* Preſence, did not remove the difficulty; *Bullinger* knew full well, that the *Catholicks* no leſs than the *Lutherans* complain'd, that a *carnal* Preſence was laid to their charge, which they

X. The *Swiſs* not ſatisfied with *Beza*'s anſwer, ſtill hold themſelves for condemn'd. *Hoſp. ibid.*

did not dream of; and besides, could not comprehend the meaning of receiving in *Substance*, what was not *substantially* present: thus unable to conceive the refinements of *Beza*, or a *Substance* united without being *present*, he answer'd him, that *they ought to speak plainly in matters of Faith, lest they should reduce the simple to such streights as no longer to know what to believe*; whence he concluded, *It was necessary to mitigate the decree*, and this was the only means he proposed for a reconcilement.

XI. They were at last forced to stand to the decree, and to reject the Substance [illegible] Word.

They were forced to stoop to these terms, and the year following, in the *Synod* of *Nismes*, *Substance* was brought to so small a matter, that they might as well have quite suppress'd it. Whereas, at the Synod of *Rochelle*, the debate was about putting a stop *to an opinion contrary* to that which was *grounded expressly on the word of God*, they endeavour now to insinuate that the question was only about a Word. They raze out of the decree of *Rochelle* these words which contain'd its main force and purpose: *viz. [illegible] reverence the word Substance*. They declare they'll do no prejudice to strangers; and such is their complaisance for them, that these great words, the *proper Substance* of *Jesus Christ*'s Body and Blood, so much affected by *Calvin*, so strenuously maintain'd by his disciples, so carefully retain'd at the Synod of *Rochelle*, and at last brought to nothing by our *Reformed*, no longer appear in their Confession of Faith, but as a monument of the separation of the Reality and Substance, which the wrong of *[illegible]* that naturally [illegible] of their [illegible], and even of [illegible].

XII. Reflexions on their Doctrine.

And yet if they will but stand on these reflexions of their and Doctrine, they may observe

ſerve therein, after what a manner the ſpirit of ſeduction has deluded them. Their fathers would not eaſily have depriv'd themſelves of the *Subſtance* of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Body and Blood. Accuſtom'd in the *Church* to this ſweet *Preſence* of the Body and Blood of their Saviour, the pledge of an immenſe love, they would not willingly have been brought down to ſhadows and figures, nor to a ſimple virtue flowing from this Body and Blood. *Calvin* had promiſed them ſomething more. They had ſuffer'd themſelves to be attracted by a notion of *Reality* and *Subſtance* continually inculcated in his Books, in his Sermons, in his Commentaries, in his *Confeſſions* of Faith, in his *Catechiſms*: a falſe notion, I confeſs, they being there in words only, and not in fact; but yet they were charm'd with this fine idea, and believing they loſt nothing of what was poſſeſſed by them in the *Church*, they did not fear to leave it. Now that *Zuinglius* has gain'd the aſcendent by the conſent of their *Synods*, and *Calvin*'s big words ſtand evidently void of force and deſtitute of all ſenſe, why don't they return from their error, and ſeek, in the *Church*, that *real* poſſeſſion with which they had been flatter'd?

weakening of the firſt Doctrine.

The *Swiſs Zuinglians* were appeaſed by the explanation of the Synod of *Niſmes*: but the ground of diviſion ſtill ſubſiſted. So many *Confeſſions* of Faith were a too convincing token of it to be diſſembled. Mean while the *French*, the *Swiſs*, the *Engliſh*, and the *Poles* had their ſeparate ones, which all of them kept to, without borrowing from their neighbours, and their union ſeem'd nearer allied to policy than true concord.

XIII. The different *Confeſſions* of Faith, a mark of the diſunion of the Party.

They had often ſought remedies for this inconvenience, but in vain. In 1577, an aſſem-

XIV. The aſſembly at *Francfort*.

[illegible] where bly was held at *Frankfort*, where the Embassadors of [illegible] *Lutzelburg* assembled with the Deputies of *France*, of *Poland*, of *Hungary*, and of the *Lombardy*. The Great *Palatine John Casimir*, who the year before had brought into *France* to great honour to our *Queen*, procured this assembly. The whole Party in a demanded the *Spanish* [illegible] whereof his Prince was one, was there assembled, except the *Swiss* and *Bohemians*. But these last had not been circumspect, submitting themselves thereby to what should be resolved: and as for the *Swiss*, the *Palatine* made it be declared by his Embassador that he held himself assured of them. The intent of this convention, as appears by the *Palatine*'s deputy's harangue at his opening of it, was to draw up, by the unanimous content of all the other Deputies, one common *Confession* of Faith for these *Countries*; and the reason that induced the *Palatine* to make this proposal was, because the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, after making that famous book of *Concord* to often mention of it, were to hold an assembly at *Mompelgard*, there to promulgate with one accord the resolution of this book, and at the same time the condemnation of all those, who [illegible] to [illegible] as, from, [illegible] *Heraclius*, they might be excluded from the toleration granted by the *Edict* in matters of Religion. By [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] of *Germany* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] particular [illegible] of *France*, and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

common name of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, easily resolved on the proscription of a Party, which its disunion made contemptible.

XV. A design of comprehending the *Lutherans* in this common *Confession* of Faith.

This their great grievance was colour'd over nevertheless, the best manner it was possible, with specious words, and the *Palatine*-Deputy declared that all these *Confessions* of Faith, *conformable in Doctrine, differ'd in method only, and the way of speaking*. But he well knew the contrary, nor were the differences but too real for these *Churches*. Be that as it will, 'twas their interest, in order to put a stop to the proceedings of the *Lutherans*, to shew them their union by a *Confession* of Faith as well received among them all, as was that of *Ausburg* among the *Lutherans*. But they had yet a more general design: for in making this new *Confession* of Faith common to the defenders of the *figurative* sense, their intent was to pitch on such expressions as the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* sense, might agree to, and so by this means, make one body of the whole Party call'd *Reform'd*. The deputies had no better a method than this of preventing the condemnation threaten'd them from the *Lutheran* Party. Wherefore, the decree they made concerning this *common Confession of Faith*, had this turn given it: *That it ought to be made, and made clear, full, and solid, with a clear and brief refutation of all the Heresies of these times; yet, with such a temper of style, as rather to attract than alienate those that adhere purely to the Confession of* Ausburg, *as much as truth could allow.*

Ibid. p. 62.

XVI. Qualities of this new Confession of Faith. Deputies named to draw it up.

To make this *Confession* of Faith clear, to make it full, to make it solid, with a clear and brief confutation of all the Heresies of those times, was a grand undertaking; fine words, but the thing exceeding difficult, not to say impossible, amongst people of such different persuasions:

ſuſions: above all, not to exaſperate any further the *Lutherans*, thoſe zealous defenders of the *literal* ſenſe, it was neceſſary to paſs lightly over the *Real* Preſence, and the other articles ſo often mention'd. *Divines* were named, *who had a thorough knowledge of the Church's grievances*, to wit, of the diviſions in the *Reformation*, and of her *Confeſſions* of Faith which kept them aſunder. *Rodolph Gualter*, and *[illegible]* Miniſters, one of *Zurich* and the other of *Geneva*, *were to put the finiſhing hand to the work* which was afterwards to be diſpatch'd to all the *Churches in order to be read, examin'd, corrected, and augmented as judged proper.*

XVII. [illegible] To prepare a work of ſo great a nicety, and hinder the condemnation which the *Lutherans* were hatching, 'twas concluded to write, in the name of the whole aſſembly, a letter capable of ſoftening them. Wherein they were acquainted, that *[illegible]* the *Christian world*, *[illegible] the Pope's* [illegible] that he was [illegible] the moſt great *P*[illegible] Chriſtendom [illegible], namely, the *Emperor*, the king of *France*, and the king of *Spain*; [illegible] *Princes of Germany* [illegible] the Chriſtian [illegible]

[illegible]

XVIII. [illegible] Then they repreſented to them [illegible] the *Confeſſion of* [illegible], that the Pope [illegible] the reſt of the Churches [illegible] them. [illegible]

Lutherans

Lutherans, whom, by this means, they place at the head of the whole Party? They propose a free *Council* in order to unite amongst themselves, and oppose the common enemy. Lastly, after complaining they were going to be condemn'd without a hearing, they say, the controversy that divides them most from those of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, *viz.* that of the *Supper* and *Real* Presence, hath not so much difficulty as imagin'd, and 'tis an injury done them to accuse them of rejecting the *Confession* of *Ausburg*. But they add, it stood in need of explanation in some places, and even that *Luther* and *Melanchthon* had made some corrections in it; by which they evidently mean those different editions, wherein were made the above-seen changes in the life-time of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*.

XIX. The consent of the Synod of *Sainte Foy* to the new *Confession* of Faith. M D LXXVIII.

The year following, the *Calvinists* of *France* held their national *Synod* at *Sainte-Foy*, where they gave power to change the *Confession* of Faith, which they had so solemny presented to our *Kings*, and which they boasted to maintain to the last drop of their blood. The decree of this *Synod* is worth our notice: it imports, that *after seeing the instructions of the assembly held at* Franckfort *by the means of Duke* John Casimir, they enter into the design *of uniting* in one *holy band of pure Doctrine all the* REFORM'D *Churches of* CHRISTENDOM, *whereof certain Protestant Divines were for condemning the foundyl and the greatest part; and approve the project of making and drawing up a formulary of a Confession of Faith common to all the Churches, as also the invitation expressly made to the Churches of this kingdom, to send to the place appointed men well approved and authoriz'd with ample procuration, in order to treat, agree, decide on all the points of Doctrine and other things relating to the union, repose and conservation*

confession of the Church, and God's pure service. For the execution of this project, they name four Deputies to put this common *Confession* of Faith, but with much more ample powers than had been demanded for them in the assembly of *Franckfort.* For, whereas this assembly, unable to believe the Churches could agree in one *Confession* of Faith without seeing it, had order'd, that after its being seen by certain Ministers and polish'd by others, it should be sent to all the Churches for their examination and correction: this *Synod*, condescending beyond all that could be imagin'd, not only *expressly charges* these four Deputies *to be present at the place and time appointed, with ample provisions as well from the Ministers, as in particular from the* Viscount *of* Turrene; but also adds thereto, *that in case even there were no means of examining the Confession of Faith throughout all the Provinces, it was left to their prudence and sound judgment to agree and conclude all the points that shall come under deliberation, whether in regard of Doctrine, or any other thing concerning the order, union, and rights of all the Churches.*

Here have you then manifestly, by the authority of a whole national *Synod*, the *Faith* of our reformed Churches of *France* left to the impartial [illegible] Ministers of the [illegible], with power to [illegible] them as they should [illegible] who are [illegible] [illegible] the judgment of [illegible] the last [illegible] to that [illegible] Deputies.

[illegible]

than appear'd at first sight. Forasmuch as the Duke *John Casimir*, and *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*, joint Deputies with these Ministers, had thoughts of settling this repose by other means than by arguments and *Confessions* of Faith; which, however, necessarily made part of the negociation, experience having shewn, that these new *Reform'd* Churches could not be united in a league as they ought, without agreeing before in point of Doctrine. All *France* was flaming with civil-wars, and the Viscount *de Turenne* then but young, yet full of wit and valour, whom the disaster of the times had drawn into the Party but two or three years before, had immediately raised to himself in it so great an authority (not so much by his illustrious blood which allied him to the greatest families of the kingdom, as by his great capacity and courage) that he was already *Lord Lieutenant* to the King of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry* the IVth. A man of this genius enter'd easily into the design of reuniting all the *Protestants*: but God did not suffer him to accomplish it. The *Lutherans* were found untractable, and the *Confessions* of Faith, notwithstanding the resolution unanimously taken of changing them all, subsisted as containing the pure word of God, which it is neither lawful to add to, or take from.

XXII. Letter wherein the *Calvinists* own *Lutherans* and *Ubiquitarians* for their Brethren.

We see that in the year following, namely 1579, a union was still hoped for, since the *Calvinists* of the *Low-countries* wrote conjointly to the *Lutherans*, authors of the book of *Concord*, to *Kemnitius*, *Chythræus*, *James Andrew*, and the rest of the violent defenders of *Ubiquity*, whom they failed not to call, not only their Brethren, but their own Flesh (so intimate was their union notwithstanding their so considerable divisions) inviting them *to take moderate counsels*, *to enter*

enter into methods of union, in order whereto the Synod of France (that of Saxe Fly) had named commissaries, and they, by their, after the example of the early Fathers, Lactantius, Cassiodorus, Capito, Bucer, Melanchthon, Brenz, Calvin, whose unanimity was such as you have seen. These then are the common Fathers of the *Sacramentarians* and *Lutherans*; these are the men whose harmony and moderate counsels the *Calvinists* grew in.

XXIII. The project of a common Confession continued to our days, and always to no purpose. *Fam. p. 72.*

All these endeavours towards a union proved abortive, and the defenders of the *figurative* sense were so far from being able to agree with the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* sense, in one common *Confession* of Faith, that they could not even agree among themselves. The proposal was frequently renew'd, and even near to our days in 1614, at the Synod of *Tonins*, which in 1615, was back'd by the expedients proposed by the famous *Peter du Moulin*. But though for this he received the thanks of the Synod of the *Isle* of *France* held the same year at the borough of *Ay in Champagne*; and notwithstanding the known credit he had, not only in *France* among his own Brethren, but also in *England* and over the whole Party, all proved to no purpose. The *Churches*, which [illegible] the *figurative* sense, confess'd the misery and of their division, but withal confess'd, [illegible] no remedy; and this common [illegible] to earnestly desired and endeavoured [illegible] a [illegible].

XXIV. [illegible] I should relate the [illegible] Mr. [illegible] with regard to [illegible] Some said, a mutual [illegible] but

it's plain enough, a common *Confession* of Faith was not neceſſary for that end, ſince the effect of this toleration is, not to make one common Faith, but to bear mutually with one another's Faith. Others, in excuſe for the great power of deciding on Doctrine lodged in the hands of four Deputies, anſwer'd, this was becauſe it was known, *near the matter*, what they could agree in: this, *near the matter*, is admirable. Doubtleſs, men are not over nice in queſtions of Faith, when ſatisfied with knowing, *near the matter*, what they are to ſay; and little alſo do they know what to ſtick to, when, for want of ſuch knowledge, they give their Deputies ſo unlimitted a power of concluding whatſoever they ſhall think fitting. The Miniſter *Claude* anſwer'd, they knew preciſely what they were to ſay; and ſhould the Deputies have gone beyond it, they would have juſtly been diſown'd as men that had gone beyond their commiſſion. But this anſwer, allowing it ſo, does not ſatisfy the chief difficulty conſiſting in this, that, to pleaſe the *Lutherans*, they muſt have given up to them all that tended to exclude, as well the *Real Preſence*, as the other points conteſted with them; that is to ſay, they muſt evidently have changed, in ſuch conſiderable articles, a *Confeſſion* of Faith expreſly affirm'd by them to be contain'd in the word of God.

Acta, 2. rep. p. 365.

Mr. Claude's Ans. to Mr. Cl. rep. of Exp. p. 149.

XXV. Difference betwixt what was deſign'd to be done in favour of the *Lutherans* at *Franckfort* and *Sainte-Foy*, and

Care ought to be taken not to confound what then was to be done with what was done ſince, when the *Lutherans* were received into Communion at the *Synod* of *Charenton* in 1631. This laſt action ſhews only, that the *Calviniſts* can bear with the *Lutheran* Doctrine, as a Doctrine not at all prejudicial to Faith's *fundamentals*. But 'tis certainly a quite different thing to tolerate in the *Lutherans* Confeſſion of Faith, what you

what was since done at *Charenton*.

you believe erroneous in it, and to suppress in your own, what you believe to be a truth reveal'd of God and expressly declared by his word. This is what they had resolved to do in the assembly of *Franckfort* and at the *Synod* of *Sainte-Foy*; this is what they would have executed, had it pleased the *Lutherans*: insomuch that, 'twas only the fault of the defenders of the *Real Presence*, that all which clash'd with it was not erased out of the *Sacramentarian Confessions* of Faith. But the reason of this was; once change, and no end of changing: a *Confession* of Faith, that changes the Doctrine of ages past, shews by that, itself may be changed likewise, nor must we wonder, the *Synod* of *Sainte-Foy* thought they had power to correct in 1578, what the *Synod* of *Paris* had establish'd in 1559.

XXVI. Spirit of instability in *Calvinism*.

All these means of agreement now mention'd, so far from diminishing the division of our *Reform'd*, did but increase it. Here were men ignorant as yet what to stick to, whose first Step, at setting out, was by a breach from the whole Christian world. Here was a Religion built on the sand, which had no stability even in her *Confessions* of Faith, altho' made with such nice care, and publish'd with such pomp. Even the professors of it could not persuade themselves that they had not a right to innovate in so changeable a [illegible], and 'twas this produced the novelties of *John Fisher*, known under the name of *Pyrander*, and those of *Amandus*.

XXVII. *Pyrander's* dispute.

Pyrander's affair will teach us many important matters, and [illegible] more delicate to relate at full length, the [illegible] it is known by the [illegible] rarity of our *Reform'd*.

Pyrander became minister in the [illegible] of *Hoorn*, a Town in the Fieldom of [illegible], towards the end of the sixteenth Century. [illegible]

mining the Doctrine of Imputed Justice, he says that the Justice of *Jesus Christ*, which is imputed to us, is not that which he practised during the course of his life, but that which he underwent in bearing voluntarily the punishment of our sin on the Cross; as much as to say, the death of our Lord being a sacrifice of an infinite value, whereby he paid and satisfied for us, it was also by this *Act* alone that the Son of God was properly *Saviour*, without any necessity of joining to it any other *Acts*, this being of itself sufficient: so that, if we are to be justified by imputation, 'tis by that of this *Act*, in virtue whereof precisely we are acquitted in the sight of God, and whereby *the hand-writing of the sentence pass'd against us was defaced*, as St. *Paul* speaks, *By the Blood which pacifieth both heaven and earth.* Col. ii. 14.

XXXVIII. This Doctrine detested by the national Synod of *Gap*. First decision. MDCIII. *Syn. de Gap. ch. de la Conf. de foy.*

This Doctrine *was detested* by our *Calvinists* in the Synod of *Gap* Anno 1603, as contrary to the eighteenth, twentieth and twenty second articles of the *Confession* of Faith, and 'twas resolved by them, *that a letter should be address'd to* Mr. Piscator, *and likewise to the University in which he taught.*

It is certain, these three articles decided nothing as to what concern'd *Piscator*: and for this reason we find no more mention made of the twentieth and twenty second articles. And as to the eighteenth, in which it was pretended the decision might be found, it said no more than that *we are justified by the obedience of Jesus Christ, the which is allowed us*, without specifying, what obedience: so that *Piscator* found it no hard matter to defend himself in respect to the *Confession* of Faith. But since they will have it, that he innovated in regard to the *Confession* of the pretended *Reformed* of this kingdom, which had been

been subscribed by those of the *Low-countries*, I agree to it.

XXIX. Synod condemns Pajaton's Doctrine, and approves of the Decrees.

Pajaton was writ to by order of the Synod, as resolved, and his modest answer, but steady in his sentiment, was read at the Synod of *Rotterdam* in the year 1697. After reading it, this decree was made: *Is the Letter of Doctor John Pajaton, Professor in the Academy of Herborne, in answer to the Synod of Gap, considering a Book of his Doctrine, which tends to explain, to lessen the Love of God in his Son, and Religion imposed as judicial to the Jewish, and not by the occasion of his life; the opinion SO APPROVING the division of causes in Christ, but disavowed, that the active obedience of Christ in his life and death is imputed to us for the entire remission of our sins,* AS BEING NO OTHER THAN ONE AND THE SAME OBEDIENCE.

XXX. Important observations on the Covenant of Redemption, and the Redemption of the Elect.

In consideration of their last words, I would willingly ask our *Remonstrants*, why, in order to merit for us the forgiveness of our sins, they require, not only the obedience of the death, but also that of the whole life of our Redeemer? Is it that the merit of Jesus Christ's dying, is not infinite, and not more than sufficient for our salvation? I hope they will say; they must therefore say, that what is required of us, is only after an infinite merit, that mediately by intercession, but [illegible] at the same time, it must also be owned, that to consider *Jesus Christ*, as containing in himself, by the Precious not in heaven only, but also upon Mount Calvary, the Price of the *Redemption* of the Elect, is taking nothing of the merit of the propitiation made on the Cross; [illegible] the Synod of *Dordrecht*, not having [illegible] and [illegible] *Jesus Christ* [illegible] and

and all he now does whether in heaven where he prefents himfelf for us to the Father, or on our *Altars*, where he is prefent in another way, as the continuation of one and the fame interceffion, and of one and the fame obedience which he began in his life, confummated in his death, and never ceafes to renew both in heaven and in the myfteries, thereby to apply them to us effectually and perpetually.

XXXI. Third decifion. Formulary and Subfcription ordain'd againft *Pifcator* in the Synod of *Privas*. MDCXII.

The Doctrine of *Pifcator* had its partifans. Nothing was found againft him in the eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty fecond articles of the *Confeffion* of Faith. And indeed they abandon the two laft to fix on the eighteenth no more to the purpofe, as we have feen, than the others; and to drive the matter home againft *Pifcator* and his Doctrine, they went fo far, in the national Synod of *Privas*, as to oblige all the Paftors to fubfcribe expreffly againft *Pifcator* in thefe terms: *I under-written* N. *in regard to the contents in the eighteenth article of the Confeffion of Faith of the reformed Churches touching our Juftification, do declare and proteft, that* I UNDERSTAND IT ACCORDING TO THE SENSE RECEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL SYNODS, AND CONFORMABLE TO GOD'S WORD: *which is, that our Lord Jefus Chrift was fubject to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our ftead: and that all the obedience he render'd to the law is imputed to us, and that our Juftification does confift, not only in the remiffion of fins, but in the imputation of active juftice: and* SUBJECTING MYSELF TO THE WORD OF GOD, *I believe that* the Son of man came not to be miniftred unto, but to miniftter, *and that he did miniftter to the purpofe he came for:* PROMISING NEVER TO DEPART FROM THE DOCTRINE RE-

CEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, AND TO SUBJECT MYSELF TO THE ORDINANCES OF THE NATIONAL SYNODS ON THIS HEAD.

XXXII. The scripture ill quoted, and ill applied. Decrees ill understood.

What it does avail imputed Justice, that *Jesus Christ came to minister, and not to be ministred unto*; and to what purpose this text is brought abruptly and without connexion into the midst of this decree, let him guess that can. Neither do I see what use the imputation of the *Ceremonial* law is to us, which never was made for us; nor for what reason *Jesus Christ might have been subject to it, not only for our good, but in our stead*. I well comprehend how *Jesus Christ*, having disperted the shadows and figures of the law, hath left us free from the servitude of the ceremonial laws, which were but shadows and figures; but that it was necessary for such intent that he himself should have been subject to them in our stead, the contexture would be pernicious, since it might be equally concluded, he had also set us free from the moral law, by his fulfilling it. All this shews the little exactness of our Reformed, more intent on shewing erudition in a profusion of big empty words, than on speaking with accuratenesse in their decrees.

XXXIII. Inquiry against *Pareus* and the Synod of *Dort*.

I am at a loss to know what could be the reason that *Pareus*'s affair was laid to very much to heart by our *Protestant reformed*, or why the Synod of *Prizas* descended to the utmost precautions, by imposing the above subscription. This however seems to have been deceitful a form. Every Decree, order'd to be subscribed by all the Pastors, should have explain'd the matter fully and entirely. Nevertheless, as in this subscription and in the precedent decree, it was still necessary to make a new declaration at the Synod of *Dort*, in 1618. [illegible] one after another, and at [illegible], the contents;

a particular article, and on so limited a subject, is very extraordinary: but in the new *Reformation* something is always found to be added, or curtail'd, and never is their Faith explain'd so sincerely, nor with so full a sufficiency, as to make them stick precisely to the first decisions.

XXXIV. The impiety of imputed Justice as it is proposed by these Synods.

To conclude this affair, I shall make a short reflexion on the main of the Doctrine, and some reflexions on the procedure.

As to the Doctrine, I very well understand how the death of *Jesus Christ*, and the payment he made to the divine justice of the punishment we owed it, is imputed to us, as you impute to a debtor the payment made by the surety for his acquittance. But that the perfect justice fulfill'd by our Lord in his Life and Death, and the absolute obedience he render'd *to the Law*, should be imputed to us, or, as they speak, *allow'd*, in the same sense that the payment of the surety is imputed to the debtor; is the same as to say, that he discharges us by his justice from the obligation of being good and virtuous, as by his punishment he discharges us from the obligation of undergoing that which our sins had merited.

XXXV. Plainness and simplicity of the *Catholick* Doctrine opposed to the obscurities of it contrary

I understand then, and very clearly, in another kind of manner, what it avails us to have a Saviour whose sanctity is infinite. For thereby I behold him the alone worthy to impetrate for us all the graces requisite to make us just. But that we should *formally* be made just, because *Jesus Christ* was just; and that his justice should be *allow'd* us, as if he had fulfill'd the Law to our discharge, neither does the Scripture say it, nor can any man of good sense comprehend it.

By this means, accounting as nothing our interior justice, and that which we practise thro' grace, they make us all in the main equally just, by reason that the justice of *Jesus Christ*, supposed

by them the only one that renders us just, is infinite.

They likewise wrest from the *Elect* of God that crown of justice, the just Judge reserves for each one in particular, since they suppose, all have the same justice which is infinite; or if at length they confess, this infinite justice is *allow'd* us in different degrees, accordingly as we approach to it more or less by that particular justice we are vested with by Grace, 'tis, by extraordinary expressions, saying the same thing with the *Catholicks*.

XXXVI. Reflexion on the ill-usage Scripture found therein only for their base

Behold in few words what I had to say on the Doctrine itself. I shall be still more brief as to the procedure: it has nothing but what is weak in it, nothing grave, nor serious. The act of most importance is the Formulary of Subscription injoin'd at the Synod of *Prizac*: but from the very beginning, they don't so much as think of convincing *Pajaier* from the Scriptures. The point to be proved was, *that the obedience of Jesus Christ, wherein he fulfil'd the whole law in his life and death, is allow'd us in order to make us just*, the which is call'd, in the Formulary of *Prizac*, as before in that of *Gap*, the Imputation of the active justice.

Now, all that could be found in four Synods to prove this Doctrine and the Imputation of the active justice, by the Scripture, is, that *the Son of Man was not come to be ministred unto, but to minister*: a text so little adapted to imputed Justice, that there is no discovering even to what purpose it was cited.

But to act as with these new Reasonings, provided they name but the *Holy Ghost* with emphasis, and that fetch out a text or two however wide from the purpose, they think to have answer'd the pretension they make of believing

not jus

nought but *Scripture* in expreſs terms. The people are dazzled with theſe big promiſes, and are not even ſenſible what a ſway the authority of their Miniſters hath over them, tho' when all is done, 'tis by that their aſſent is determin'd.

XXXVII. How the Confeſſion of Faith is quoted.

As from the word of God nothing was proved againſt *Piſcator*, ſo likewiſe their *Confeſſion* of Faith was oppoſed in vain againſt him.

For we have ſeen them, at *Privas*, immediately forego the twentieth and twenty ſecond articles, which were produced at *Gap*. The eighteenth is only inſiſted on; and as it ſpoke nothing but what was general and indeterminate, they bethought themſelves of thus remedying it in the Formulary: *I declare and proteſt that I underſtand the eighteenth article of our Confeſſion of Faith according to the ſenſe received in our Churches, approved in our Synods, and conformable to the word of God.*

The word of God would have ſufficed alone: but as that was in diſpute, to finiſh it, there was a neceſſity of coming back to the authority of things judged, and abiding by the article of the *Confeſſion* of Faith, *Underſtanding it*, not according to its preciſe terms, but *according to the ſenſe received in the Churches, and approved in the national Synods*; which finally regulates the diſpute by tradition, and ſhews us, the moſt aſſured means of underſtanding what is written, is to ſee, in what manner it always had been underſtood.

XXXVIII. They laugh at all those decrees. Nothing ſerious in the Reformation. *De Moulin's*

This is what paſs'd, as to the affair of *Piſcator*, in four national Synods. The laſt of them was that of *Tonins* held in 1614, where, after the ſubſcription commanded by the Synod of *Privas*, all ſeem'd determin'd in the moſt ſerious manner imaginable: yet after all, there was nothing in it; for the year following, to go no

Indifference approved in the Synod of *Charenton*.

further, that is, in 1623. *Du Moulin*, the most renown'd of all their Ministers, openly made a jest of it with the approbation of a whole Synod: the matter went thus.

The Party of the *Reformation* opposite to *Lutheranism* had always been disturb'd, that they could never contrive among themselves a common *Confession* to unite all their members as the *Confession* of *Augsburg* united all the *Lutherans*. So many different *Confessions* of Faith shew'd a fund of division which weaken'd the Party. They came back therefore once more to the project of a re-union. *Du Moulin* proposed the means in a writing sent to the Synod of the *Isle* of *France*. Its whole drift was to dissemble the *Dogmata* which they could not agree in; and *Du Moulin* writes in express terms, that among the things it was requisite *to dissemble* in this new *Confession* of Faith, they ought to place *Pistorius's justification making faith formale*: a Doctrine so much *condemned* by four national Synods becomes indifferent, all on a sudden, in the opinion of this Minister; and the Synod of the *Isle* of *France* with the same hand it had but just subscribed *Pistorius's* condemnation, may the pen, as I may say, still wet with the ink it had made this subscription with, thanks Mr *Du Moulin* by express letters for this proposal: such infallibility is there in the new *Reformation*, and to easily does the fortitude the greatest matters to this common *Confession* which the mover yet could compass.

XXXIX. The words of *Du Moulin* are too remarkable not to be related. *There*, says he, *are in this Confession to be sought for this new Confession of Faith, [illegible] for more considered, [illegible] to [illegible] said, [illegible] at [illegible] that*

I

I would have laid on the table the Confession of the Churches of France, *of* England *of* Scotland, *of the* Low-countries, *of the* Palatinate, *of the* Swiss, *&c. That out of these Confessions we might strive to form* ONE COMMON *one, wherein we should* DISSEMBLE *many things, without the knowledge of which one might be saved,* AS IS PISCATOR'S QUESTION *touching Justification, and many subtle opinions proposed* BY ARMINIUS *about Free-will, Predestination, and Perseverance of the Saints.*

owl'd in the Reformation. *Ibid. n.* 4.

He adds that, as *Satan had corrupted the Church of* Rome *by her having too much,* namely, *by avarice and ambition,* so he *strives to corrupt the Churches* of the new Reformation *by knowing too much,* to wit, by curiosity; which in reality is the temptation all Hereticks sink under, and the snare they are taken in: and concludes that in the way of agreement, *they shall have gone the greatest part of the journey, if they can but prevail on themselves to be ignorant of many things, be contented with necessaries to salvation, and be easy in regard of others.*

XL. Reflexion on these words of *Du Moulin* approved in the Synod of [illegible].

How to agree in this matter, was the question: for if by such things, whose knowledge is necessary to salvation, he understands those which every private man is obliged to know under penalty of damnation; this common *Confession* of Faith is already made in the *Creed* of the Apostles, and in that of *Nice.* The union made on this foundation would reach much beyond the newly *Reform'd* Churches, nor could they hinder our being comprehended in it: but, *if by the knowledge of things necessary to salvation,* he understands the full explanation of all the expresly reveal'd truths of God, who hath reveal'd none whose knowledge does not tend to secure

the salvation of his faithful; there *to dissemble* what the Synods have declared *expressly revealed of God*, with *detestation* of the contrary errors, is laughing at the *Church*, is holding her decrees for imposture even after signing them, is betraying both Religion and Conscience.

XII. *Du Moulin's inconstancy.*

Now when you shall perceive that this same *Du Moulin* who makes so slight a matter, not of *Pistator's* propositions only, but also of the much more important ones of *Arminius*, was, afterwards, one of the most unmercifull Censors of them, you will acknowledge, in his procedure, the perpetual inconstancy of the new *Reformation*, always suiting her *Dogmata* to the occasion.

XIII. *Great care to be taken in the Conclusion of the Union.*

To conclude the account of this project of re-union then concerted, when this common *Confession* of the Party opposite to the *Lutherans* should be finish'd, another was to be made also, but more wide and general, in which the *Lutherans* might be comprehended. *Du Moulin* here sets forth all the ways of expressing themselves so, as *not to condemn the Real Presence, nor Ubiquity, nor the necessity of Baptism*, nor the rest of the *Lutheran* tenets; and what he cannot screen by equivocations or indeterminate expressions, he wraps up in silence the best he is able: he hopes to abolish by this means the appellation of *Lutherans*, of *Calvinists*, of *Sacramentarians*, and by stress of equivocating, to make no other name remain for *Protestants*, than the common one of *the Christian Church reform'd*. The whole Synod of the *Isle of France* applauded this fine plan; and this union thus compleated, it would be time, proceeds this Minister, to form it the reconciliation of the Church of *Rome*: but he doubts they shan't succeed. And with good reason; for we have not one instance of her ever

approving

approving equivocations in matters of Religion, or consenting to the suppression of articles, she once believed reveal'd by God.

But I do not allow to *Du Moulin* and the rest of the same Party, that the differences in their *Confessions* of Faith are only in the method and expressions, or else, in polity and ceremonies; or, if in matters of Faith, in such only as had not yet pass'd into law or publick ordinance: for we may have seen, and shall see the contrary thro' the whole sequel of this history. And can they say, for example, that the Doctrine of *Episcopacy* wherein the *Church* of *England* is so firm, and carries it to such a pitch as to receive no *Calvinian* Ministers without re-ordaining them, is a matter only of expression, or at most, of meer polity and ceremony? Is it nothing to look on a Church as utterly destitute of Pastors lawfully ordain'd? It is true, the *Calvinists* are even with them, as we are assured by one of their famous Ministers in these words: *If any of ours should teach the distinction of Bishops and Priests, and that there is no true Ministry without Bishops; we could not suffer him in our Communion, that is to say, at least in our Ministry.* The *English Protestants* therefore are excluded from it. Is this a difference of small importance? This same Minister does not speak so of it, he being agreed, that *on account of these differences*, which he'll have but *small*, *of government and discipline, they treat one another as persons excommunicated.* If we descend to particulars in these *Confessions* of Faith, how many points shall we find in some, which are not in others? And in reality, were the difference in words only, their obstinacy would be too great not to agree after so frequently attempting it: if in ceremonies only, their weakness would be too great in insisting on them;

XLIII. Importance of the disputes among the defenders of the *figurative* sense.

Jur. Sept. p. 214.

Edwards. cure Pl. ch. 5. at the beginning of his *Pref. Lat.*

them; but the truth is, they are all ſenſible how little they agree in the main; and if they boaſt of being well united, this only ſerves to confirm, that the union of the new Reformation is rather *Political* than *Eccleſiaſtick*.

Nothing now remains but to intreat our Brethren to conſider the great ſteps they have ſeen taken, not by private men, but by their whole *Church* touching matters decided by them with all the authority, ſaid they, of the word of God: yet all theſe decrees came to nothing. 'Tis a way of ſpeaking in the *Reformation* always to name the *Word* of God: they believe a thing never the more for that, nor fear the leaſt to ſuppreſs what they had advanced under the ſanction of ſo great an authority; but we muſt not wonder at it. There is nothing in Religion more authentick than *Confeſſions* of Faith, nothing ought to have been better warranted by the word of God than what the *Calviniſts* had inſerted in them againſt the *Real Preſence* and the other *Dogmata* of the *Lutherans*. 'Twas not only *Calvin* that accounted, [illegible], *the invention of the Corporeal Preſence*; *De corporali præſentia detſtabile commentum*: the whole Reformation of *France* had juſt [illegible], in Body, by the mouth of *Beza*, *that ſhe* [illegible] *the* Lutheran [illegible] *the* Papiſtical *Tree of Damnation*. [illegible] nothing fierce, nor furious, in [illegible] of the *Real Preſence*, ſince they [illegible] all that had been ſaid [illegible] by decree of a [illegible] determination of [illegible] Preſence [illegible] *Lutherans*, [illegible] but

but pleaſed the *Lutherans*. *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, the *Low-countries*, in a word, whatever *Calviniſts* were the world over conſented to this ſuppreſſion. How therefore can men remain ſo wedded to a tenet, which they ſee ſo little revelation for, that it is already caſt forth from the profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* by the concurrent wiſhes of the whole Party.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

VARIATIONS

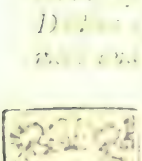
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XIII.

The Doctrine concerning ANTICHRIST, *and Variations on this subject from* LUTHER'S *time down to this.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

Variations of the Protestants *in regard to* Antichrist. Luther's *vain predictions.* Calvin's *evasion. What* Luther *lays down, as to this Doctrine, is contradicted by* Melanchton. *A new article of Faith added to the* Confession *in the Synod of* Gap. *The foundation of this doctrine manifestly false. This Doctrine disgraceful in the* Reformation. *The absurdities, extravagancies, and impieties of the new interpretation of prophecies proposed by* Joseph Mede, *and maintained by the Minister* Jurieu. *Too much by Divines in Conclave. Mercenary Bishops, and Lawyers.*



THE *doctrine* [illegible] *proximal* [illegible] *in the* [illegible] *Protestants*, [illegible] *now time to treat of* [illegible] *the question* [illegible] *deriving from them* [illegible] *of a more particular affection, before I engage there-*

in,

in, a famous decree ſhould be mention'd of the Synod of *Gap*, the account of which was deferr'd, not to interrupt the affair of *Piſcator*. declare the Pope *Antichriſt*.

It was therefore in this Synod and in 1603, that a new decree was made to declare the *Pope Antichriſt*. This decree was counted of ſo great importance that it paſs'd into a new article of Faith, in order the thirty firſt, and took place after the thirtieth, it being there ſaid, that all true Paſtors are equal; ſo that, what gives the *Pope* the character of *Antichriſt*, is his ſtyling himſelf *Superior* to other Biſhops. If it be ſo, 'tis a great while ſince *Antichriſt* has reign'd: nor do I conceive why the *Reformation* has ſo long deferr'd enrolling in the catalogue of this great number of *Antichriſts* ſhe has introduced, St. *Innocent*, St. *Leo*, St. *Gregory*, and the reſt of the *Popes* whoſe Epiſtles ſhew us the exerciſe of this *Superiority* in every page.

II. *Luther's* empty prophecies, and *Calvin's* as empty ſhift. *Sup. l.* 1. *n.* 31.

Now when *Luther* ſo greatly exaggerated this new Doctrine of the *Antichriſtian* Papacy, he did it with that prophetick air above remark'd in him. We have ſeen, in what a ſtrain he foretold the down-fall of the *Papal* power; and how his preaching was that breath of *Jeſus Chriſt* which was to overthrow *the man of ſin*; without arms, without violence, by himſelf alone, without any intervening power: ſo dazzled, ſo intoxicated was he with the unexpected effect of his eloquence! The whole *Reformation* was in expectation of the ſpeedy accompliſhment of this new prophecy. But when they ſaw the *Pope* ſtill keep his ground (for many more than *Luther* will ſplit againſt this rock) and that the *Pontifical* power, ſo far from tumbling at the blaſt of this falſe Prophet, maintain'd itſelf againſt the conſpiracy of ſo many revolted powers, inſomuch, that the attachment of God's people to this ſacred

authority,

authority, which makes the band of their unity, redoubled rather than was weaken'd by so numerous a defection, they laugh'd at the illusion of *Luther*'s prophecies, and at their weak credulity who took them for celestial oracles. Yet *Calvin* had his evasion ready when he said to one that ridiculed them, that, *tho' the body of the Papacy subsisted still, the spirit and life had been so as to leave nothing but a dead carcase.* Thus men will run the hazard of a prophecy, and if the event does not answer, a flash of wit brings them off.

Calvin's Pleasant Evasion.

III. *Daniel and St. Paul.*

But they tell us with a serious air, it is a prophecy not of *Luther*'s, but of the *Scripture*, and evidently to be seen (so it should since 'tis an article of Faith) in St. *Paul*, and in *Daniel*. As for the *Revelation*, *Luther* did not think fit to employ this book, nor receive it into his *Canon*. But for St. *Paul*, what could be more evident, seeing that the Pope [illegible] *in the Temple of God?* In the Church, says *Luther*, that is questionless in the *true* Church, the *true* Temple of God; it being unexampled in Scripture, that a Temple of *Hell* was ever call'd by this name: so that the first step they must make towards a right understanding how the *Pope* [illegible], is to acknowledge that [illegible] for the *true* Church. What follows is not less [illegible] much. [illegible] how the *Pope* [illegible] *that* [illegible] in that Scripture so much [illegible] proof that [illegible] the *Pope* [illegible] with all the people [illegible] every thing by [illegible] Scripture [illegible] *Hell* [illegible] there to be [illegible] for time, [illegible] by [illegible] afterwards [illegible] in the most [illegible] part of this Scripture [illegible] the [illegible] event, [illegible] *this*

thro' his own merits, but thro' the bounty and grace, and in the name, of Jesus Christ our Lord? A new kind of *Antichrist*, that obliges all his adherents to place their hope in *Jesus Christ*, and for always having been the most firm assertor of his Divinity, is placed by the *Socinians* at the head of all *Antichrists*, as the chief of them all, and as the most incompatible with their Doctrine.

IV. Protestants discredit themselves by this Doctrine.

But again, if such a dream can deserve our serious attention, which of all these Popes is *that man of sin and the son of perdition* specified by St. *Paul?* We never meet in Scripture with the like expressions unless to characterize some particular person. No matter for that: all the *Popes* since St. *Gregory*, as they said heretofore, and as they say at present, all the *Popes* since St. *Leo*, are *this man of sin*, *this son of perdition*, and this *Antichrist*, tho' they converted to Christianity, *England*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*: so that all these countries, by embracing the *Reformation*, did publickly acknowledge that they had received *Christianity* from *Antichrist* himself.

V. Illusions with regard to the *Revelations*.

Who can relate here the mysteries our *Reform'd* have found in the *Revelations*, and the deceitful prodigies of the *Beast*, which are the miracles *Rome* attributes to Saints and their Relicks: to the end that St. *Austin*, and St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Ambrose*, and the rest of the Fathers who, they allow, publish'd the like miracles with unanimous consent, may be the precursors of *Antichrist?* What shall I say of the character which the *Beast* stamps on the forehead, which in their language means the sign even of the Cross of *Jesus Christ*, and the holy *Chrism* which is employ'd to imprint it: to the end that St. *Cyprian*, and all the other Bishops before and after

who

who must undoubtedly, as is contend'd, did apply this character, may be *Antichrist*; and the faithful, who have at last free'd the Church of Christianity, be prepar'd with the Vials of the *Beast*; and the sign of the Son of Man, become the foil of his adversary. 'Tis irksome to relate all these impertinences, and for my part, I am verily persuaded, 'twas the perpetual sentences and protestations of the holy book of the *Revelations*, which were seen increasing without end in the new *Reformation*, that brought the Ministers themselves, weary of hearing them, to a resolution in the national Synod of *Saumur*, *that no Pastor should undertake the explication of the Revelations well in the place of a Provincial Synod.*

Sum of Saumur Synod.

VI. The Doctrine concerning *Antichrist* was not till then, in the Reformation, *Lutheran* alone placed among the articles of *Smalcald*, but Mr. *Jurieu* expos'd *Saumur* as *Lutheran*; and *Calvin* was not *Lutheran*.

Now although the Ministers had never ceased to animate the people by their odious notions of *Antichristianism*, they had never ventured hitherto to let them appear in the *Confessions* of Faith, tho' never so outrageous against the *Pope*. *Luther* alone had placed, among the articles of *Smalcald*, a long article concerning the *Papacy*, more resembling a satyrical declamation than a dogmatick article, and in it asserted the Doctrine: but this example was follow'd by none else. More than this, when *Luther* proposed the article, *Melanchthon* refused to subscribe it, and we have heard him say with the general consent of the whole Party, that the *Pope*'s Superiority was of so great benefit to the *Church*, that were it not established, it ought to be: nevertheless, 'twas precisely on this account that our *Reformers* acknowledg'd the character of *Antichrist* in the Seat of *Gregory*.

In the first rank, that the Bishop of *Rome* pretends to dominion over the Church, *Pope*, and *God*. In what place or what Council? in what profession of Faith? was what

what they ſhould have ſpecified, this being the foundation of the decree. But they durſt not do it, for then it would have appear'd, they had nothing to produce but the words of ſome impertinent interpreter, *viz.* that, in a certain manner, and in the ſenſe God ſpeaks to Judges, *Ye are Gods*, the Pope might be call'd God. *Grotius* laugh'd at this objection of his Party, asking them, ſince what time the *Hyperboles* of ſome flatterer were taken for received *Dogmata?* Nor indeed, we may ſafely ſay it, has this reproach of the Pope's *naming himſelf God*, any other foundation than this. On this foundation they decide that *he is properly the Antichriſt, and the Son of perdition pointed at in the word of God, and the beaſt cloath'd with ſcarlet whom the Lord will diſcomfit, as he promiſed, and as he has already begun to do:* and this is what was to make the thirty firſt article of Faith for our pretended-reform'd of *France*, according to the decree of *Gap*, *chapt. Concerning the Confeſſion of Faith.* This new article had for title: *Article omitted.* The Synod of *Rochelle* gave orders in 1607, that this article of *Gap*, *as moſt true and conformable to what was foretold in Scripture, and which we ſee in our days* MANIFESTLY FULFILLED, *ſhould be inſerted in the copies of the Confeſſion of Faith which were to be printed anew.* But it was judged of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer a Religion, tolerated under certain conditions and under a determinate *Confeſſion* of Faith, to multiply its articles as its Miniſters ſhould think fit, and a ſtop was put to the effect of the Synod's decree. SECT. VII.

It may be ask'd perhaps, what ſpirit mov'd them to this novelty. The ſecret is discover'd by the Synod itſelf. We there read these words in the Chapter concerning Diſcipline: *[illegible]* SECT. VIII. Occasion of this decree.

as many are unwilling for having call'd the Pope Antichrist; the company protests, this is the common Belief and Confession of US ALL, by ill luck omitted nevertheless in all the precedent editions, *and the foundation of our separating from the Church of* Rome, *a foundation drawn from the Scripture, and grounded upon the blood of so many Martyrs.* Wretched Martyrs, who spill their blood for a tenet absolutely forgotten in all the *Confessions* of Faith! But it's true, of late it's become the most important of all, and the most effectual subject of the breach.

IX. Let us now hearken to an author, who alone makes more noise in his whole Party than all the rest, and whom they seem to have intrusted with the whole defence of the cause, none but he any longer entering the lists. Here is what he says in that famous book intitled, *the Accusation of the Protestants* [illegible] He complains preter [illegible] *Protestants* [illegible] *Author*, [illegible]

another place: *Verily*, says he, *I so greatly account this an article of a true Christian's Faith, that I cannot hold those for good Christians who deny this truth, after that the event and labours of so many great men have set it in so evident a light.* Here is a new *fundamental* article which they had not as yet thought on, nay on the contrary, which the Reformation *had unfortunately abandon'd*: for adds he, *This controversy was so thoroughly extinguish'd, that our adversaries believed it dead, and imagin'd, we had renounced this pretension,* AND THIS FOUNDATION *of our whole Reform.*

Acts. &c. Ibid. p. 49. 50.

X. Confessed by the learnedst Protestants, *Grotius, Hammond, Spanheim* himself.

For my own part thus much is true, that I never in my life have met with any man of good sense among our *Protestants*, that laid stress on this article: in sincerity, they were ashamed of so great an excess, and more in pain how to excuse the transports of their own people that introduced this prodigy into the world, than we were to impugn it. Their ablest men freed us from this labour. It's well known what the learned *Grotius* wrote on this subject, and how clearly he has demonstrated that the *Pope* could not be *Antichrist*. If the authority of *Grotius* seem not weighty enough to our *Reform'd*, because truly this learned man, by studying carefully the Scriptures, and reading the ancient Ecclesiastical authors, disabused himself by little and little of the errors he was born in; Doctor *Hammond*, that learned *English-man*, was not suspected in the Party. Nevertheless, he took no less pains than *Grotius* to destroy the frenzies of *Protestants* touching the *Antichristianism* charged on the *Pope*.

Ibid. p. 4. col. 1. [illegible] p. 291.

These authors with some others, whom our Minister is pleased to call *the shame and reproach, not only of the Reformation, but also of the Christian*

Ibid. p. 4.

ſtian name, were in every body's hands, and received the praiſes not only of the *Catholicks*, but likewiſe of all the able and moderate men amongſt *Proteſtants*. Mr *Jurieu* himſelf is moved with their authority. For which reaſon, in his book of *lawful Prejudices*, he delivers all he ſays of *Antichriſt* as a thing not unanimouſly received, as a thing *undecided*, as a picture *whoſe lineaments are applicable to different ſubjects, ſome whereof have already happen'd, and others perchance are to come.* Accordingly, the uſe he makes of it is as of a *Prejudice againſt Popery*, not as a *Demonſtration*. But now the caſe is quite alter'd: what was *undecided* before, is now become *the ground-work of the whole Reformation*: *for certainly*, ſays our Author, *I do not believe the Reformation otherwiſe well grounded than for this reaſon, that the Church we have abandoned is true Antichriſt's kingdom*. Let them no longer perplex themſelves, as hitherto, in ſearch of their *fundamental articles*: here is the *foundation of foundations*, without which the *Reformation* would have been unjuſtifiable? What will then become of [illegible] Doctrine. [illegible] *Anti-chriſtianiſm* [illegible] in the expoſing [illegible] is [illegible] clearly by [illegible] attention to what follows.

[illegible] to conſider that the whole myſtery conſiſts in clearly ſhewing, what it is [illegible]

[illegible]

Revelations for *Antichrist*'s perſecution, make twelve hundred and ſixty years: let us take all this for truth, for our buſineſs here is not to diſpute, but relate hiſtorically the Doctrine given us for the ground-work of the *Reformation*.

XII. Mr. *Jurieu* labours hard to abridge the time of his pretended prophecies. *Avis. p.* 4.

At the firſt ſtep, he is very much puzzled about theſe twelve hundred and ſixty years of perſecution. Perſecution is very weariſom, and gladly would he find a ſpeedy end put to it: 'tis what our Author openly manifeſts; for ſince what happen'd laſt in *France*, *my ſoul being caſt*, ſays he, *into the deepeſt abyſs of grief that I ever felt in my life, I was willing for my comfort to find grounds to hope a ſpeedy deliverance for the Church.* Bent on this deſign he goes to ſearch *even in the fountain-head of the ſacred Oracles, to ſee*, ſays he, *whether the Holy Ghoſt would not teach me, in regard to* THE APPROACHING DOWNFAL *of the Antichriſtian Empire, ſomething more ſure and more preciſe than what other interpreters had diſcover'd in them.* *Ibid. p.* 7, 8.

XIII. This author owns his prevention. *Ibid. p.* 8.

Men generally find, right or wrong, whatever they have a mind in prophecies, that is, in obſcure places and enigmatick ſayings, when violent prejudices accompany them. This author acknowledges his own: *I'll own it*, ſays he, *with ſincerity, that I approach'd theſe divine Oracles full of my prejudices, and intirely diſpoſed to believe that we were near to the end of the Reign and Empire of Antichriſt.* As he confeſſes himſelf prepoſſeſſed, he deſires alſo to be read *with favourable preventions*: if ſo, he is perſuaded *you can't but enter into his notions*; all will go glibly on with this allowance. *p.* 55.

XIV. He forbids his guides, and why.

Here is he then well convicted, by his own Confeſſion, that he ſet to reading the word of God, not with a mind diſengaged from his prejudices, and thereby in a fit temper to receive the

impreſſions of divine light, but on the contrary, with a mind *full of his prejudices*, diſhearten'd with perſecutions, abſolutely determin'd to find the end of them, and the approaching overthrow of this [illegible] Empire. He finds all the Interpreters put it off to a diſtant date. *Joſeph Mede*, whom he had choſen for his guide, and who had indeed [illegible] to [illegible] thing, loſt his way at laſt: for, whereas he hop'd by the means of ſo good a guide *to ſee the perſecution* [illegible] *and twenty or thirty years time*; to accompliſh what *Mede* propoſes, he muſt ſtay many ages. *These are*, ſays he, *very black* [illegible], *and greatly remote from our reckonings*: [illegible]. This was too much for a man in ſuch haſte to ſee an end, and to publiſh better tidings to his Brethren.

But after all, do what he will, he's oblig'd to find full twelve hundred and ſixty years of perſecution. To give a ſpeedy end to them, it's neceſſary to date the beginning early. The greateſt number of the *Calviniſts* had began this reckoning from the time we [illegible], as they pretended, to [illegible], and [illegible], for that was [illegible] *Antichriſt* was to worſhip, according to *Daniel*. Among other fine diſcoveries, there was ſomewhat of a reſemblance [illegible] between *Mahomet* and the [illegible] [illegible] in the hiſtory of the [illegible] Party [illegible] with [illegible]. But how'l place the Abomination [illegible] in the full [illegible]? 'tis too [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] the [illegible] commenc'd [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] hundred

dred and ſixty years of troubleſome times to rub thro': our author is diſheartened at this, and his wit would be of little ſervice, could it not furniſh him with ſome more favourable expedient.

XVI. New date given to the birth of *Antichriſt* by this Miniſter in his *Prepoſſeſſions.*

'Till now the Party had ſhewn a regard for St. *Gregory*. It's true, *Maſſes* were diſcover'd in him abundantly, even for the *Dead*, *Invocations* of Saints in plenty, a number of *Relicks*; and what is very diſagreable to the *Reformation*, a ſtrong perſuaſion of the authority of his *See*. Yet for all this, his holy Doctrine and holy life made him be rever'd. *Luther* and *Calvin* had call'd him the laſt Biſhop of *Rome*: his Succeſſors were nothing but *Popes* and *Antichriſts*: but as for him, it was not feaſible to make him of that number. Our author was more hardy, and in his *lawful Prepoſſeſſions* (for he began there to be inſpired to interpret the *Revelations*) after frequently deciding with all his Interpreters, that *Antichriſt* muſt begin with the ruin of the *Roman* Empire, he declared, *this Empire ceaſed* when *Rome* ceaſed to be *the capital City of the Provinces*, *when this Empire was diſmember'd into ten parts*; *which happen'd at the end of the fifth Century*, *and at the beginning of the ſixth*. This he repeats four or five times that you may not doubt of it, and at laſt concludes thus: *It is then certain*, *that at the beginning of the ſixth age*, *the corruptions of the Church were great enough*, *and the pride of the Biſhop of* Rome *already riſen high enough*, *to make us fix* ON THIS ERA *for the firſt birth of the Antichriſtian Empire.* And again: *one may well reckon for the birth of the Antichriſtian Empire a time*, *wherein were already ſeen all the ſprouts of future corruption and tyranny.* And finally: *this diſmembring of the Roman Empire into ten pieces happen'd about the year* 500. *a little before the end of the fifth Century*, *and at the*

Prej. Ep. 1 part. p. 82.

Ibid. p. 83. 85.

Ibid. p. 125.

the beginning of the sixth. It is then manifest, we must begin from thence to count the twelve hundred and sixty years assign'd for the duration of the *Popish* Empire.

XVII. By ill luck, the Church of *Rome* is not found sufficiently corrupted in those days to make an *Antichristian* Church of her; for the *Popes* of those times were the most zealous defenders of the mysteries of the *Incarnation* and *Redemption* of mankind, and withal as illustrious for Learning as ever the Church had. We must hear the encomium which *Dionysius Petavius*, the learned and pious man, gives St. *Gregory* the Pope, who was fixed in St. *Peter's* Chair from the year 590, to the year 604. We shall there see, *that the whole life of this holy Pope was either Reading, or Prayer:* his Fasting, his Poverty, and in the Poverty of his Life, his immense Charity to the poor, his Doctrine in Print, and his so great Revelations, that made him account the least remiss in a Pastor of dangerous consequence to Souls, form'd in him such a Bishop as St. *Paul* describes. This is the *Pope* whom this learned man is held in the Chair of St. *Peter* towards the end of the sixth Century, when, it seems, *Antichrist* was born. Even a hundred years after him, St. *Gregory* the *Great* was seated in this Chair, and the whole Church, in the *head* no less than in the *Heart*, was replenished with the odour of his virtues, amongst which his humility and zeal shone conspicuous. Nevertheless, he was fixed in the Chair, which *Ignorant of what it Prays, and what it Asks.* There are some [illegible] Had this *Pope* been [illegible] more wicked, and [illegible] the author of [illegible] Court [illegible] was only

in his minority, and in this nonage nothing hinder'd his being a Saint and a most zealous defender of *Jesus Christ* and his kingdom. These were our Author's discoveries at the beginning of the year 1685, and when he composed his *lawful Prepossessions*.

XVIII. *He advances the end of the 1260 years, and the overthrow of Antichrist.*

But upon his observing, towards the end of the same year, the revocation of the *Edict* of *Nantes* with all the consequences of it, this great event made him change his prophecies, and advance the time of the downfall of *Antichrist's* kingdom. The Author would have it in his power to say, he hoped to live to be an eye-witness to it. In 1690, he publish'd his great work of the *accomplishment of the prophecies*, wherein he determines the period of the *Antichristian* persecution at the year 1710, or at least, in 1714, or 1715. But he informs his reader, that, after all, he thinks it a difficult matter to mark precisely the year: *God*, says he, *in his prophecies*, LOOKS NOT INTO MATTERS SO MINUTELY: stupendous maxim! nevertheless, *one may say*, proceeds he, *this must happen betwixt the year* 1710, *and the year* 1715. This we may depend upon, and, what he calls persecution, will be at an end for certain, at the beginning of the eighteenth Century: so we draw near the point; scarce five and twenty years remain. Which of the zealous *Calvinists* would not have patience, and wait so short a term?

Ad. 2. p. 1. 2. p. 16. 28.

XIX. *He is obliged to make him be in the person of St. John.*

The truth is, there is some difficulty in the thing: for the more he advances the end of the twelve hundred and sixty years, the higher must he carry the beginning of them, and settle this Epoch of the *Antichristian* Empire in still purer times. Thus to finish in 1710, or thereabouts, he must have begun the *Antichristian* persecution in the year 450, or 54, under the Pontificate of St.

St. *Leo*; and accordingly 'tis what the Author chuses after *Joseph Mede*, who, in our days, has made himself famous in *England* by his learned extravagances on the *Revelation*, and the other prophecies concerning Antichrist.

XX. Author of the Epistle.

It seems [illegible] to confound thus Impostures by [illegible] of St. *Peter* with the [illegible] Saints it ever had, at [illegible] make it the text of *Antichrist*. Can one but consider the letters and [illegible] St. *Leo* expresses, even at this day, so forcibly into his readers the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and believe that an *Antichrist* was the author of them? But what other *Pope* hath impugn'd more vigorously the enemies of *Jesus Christ*, hath maintain'd with more zeal both Christian grace, and ecclesiastical discipline, and, infine, given to the world a more holy Doctrine with more holy examples? His whole sanctity made him be rever'd by the barbarous *Attila*, and saved *Rome* from massacre, as the first *Antichrist*, and Father of all the rest. 'Twas *Antichrist* that held the fourth general *Council* to respected by all good Christians: 'twas *Antichrist* that dictated the divine letter to *Flavian* which was the admiration of the whole Church, wherein the mystery of *Jesus Christ* is so forcibly and so clearly explain'd, that the Fathers of this great Council cry'd at each word, *Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo*: whereas, they should have said, by the mouth of *Antichrist* have spoken, or rather, *Peter and Jesus Christ* have spoken by the mouth of *Antichrist*. Must not a man have [illegible] even to the impudence of that [illegible] to publish to the [illegible] Pope [illegible] to impose upon [illegible] with [illegible] to send to the world such [illegible] exorbitances?

A-

XXI. Idle fears of the Ministers. *Ibid. p.* 39. 40. 41. *Ibid.* 41.

At this part of the prophecy, the new Prophet foresaw the indignation of mankind, and that of *Protestants* no less than *Catholicks*: for he is forced to own, that *from* Leo *the First*, *to* Gregory *the Great* inclusively, *Rome* had a great many good Bishops, of whom he must make as many *Antichrists*; and hopes to satisfy the world by saying, they were *Antichrists commenced*. But after all, if the twelve hundred and sixty years of *Antichristian* persecution begin then, he must either abandon the sense he gives to the prophecy, or say, that then *the holy city was trod under foot by the Gentiles: the two witnesses*, namely, *the small number of the faithful*, were put to death; *the woman with child*, to wit, the Church, *was driven into the wilderness*, and deprived at least of the publick exercise of Religion: that from that time, in short, began the execrable *blasphemies of the Beast against the name of God, and against all those that dwell in heaven, and the war she waged against the Saints*. For it is set down expressly in St. *John*, that all this was to continue a thousand two hundred and threescore days, which he will have to be years. To make these blasphemies, this war, this *Antichristian* persecution, and this triumph of error to begin in the Church of *Rome* even from the time of St. *Leo*, St. *Gelasius* and St. *Gregory*, and make it hold on for the space of all these ages, when unquestionably that *Church* was the model of all other *Churches* not in Faith alone, but also in piety and discipline, is the height of all extravagancy.

Rev. xi. 2. *Abr. des Proph.* 2. *part. ch.* x. *p.* 159. *Rev.* xii. 6. 14. *Ibid.* xiii. 5. 6.

XXII. Two bed characters imputed to St. *Leo*.

But again, what has St. *Leo* done to deserve to be the first *Antichrist*? he could not be *Antichrist* for nothing. Here are the three characters he gives to *Antichristianism*, which must be made to agree with the time of St. *Leo*, and

with

[illegible] with him in power, *Luxury*, *Tyranny*, *and Corruption* [illegible]. It is deplorable, to be reduced to do [illegible] *Corrupt*, from all these reproaches [illegible] contrains us to it. Let us begin by the Corruption of manners. Put then, nothing is [illegible] against him on this head: nothing can be found in the life of this great *Pope* but exemplary [illegible]. In his time, celibacy [illegible] was still in its full vigour, and St. *Leo* was its support of it. Thus [illegible] how many [illegible] were occupied. Let us run over the other characters, that of Tyranny next, in as few words. Even since the time of St. *Leo*, [illegible] objects our Author, [illegible] *being in the year* [illegible], *to that of St. Gregory the Great; the Bishops of Rome have invented to arrogate to themselves a jurisdiction over the universal Church*: but was it St. *Leo* that began? he dares not lay it: and he says, *I [illegible] at it*: for he knows full well that St. *Cyprian*, his Predecessor, and St. *Basilius*, and St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Innocent*, to go no farther back at present, acted no other way than St. *Leo*, nor did less maintain the authority of St. *Peter's* Chair. Why should they not then be of the number, at least, of those *Infamous Corrupted*. The reason is, because, [illegible] begun from their time, the twelve hundred and thirty-one years would have been elapsed already, and the event would have been [illegible] to every the Apostolic [illegible]. But [illegible] upon the world, and turn the [illegible] Church against their own [illegible].

But let's [illegible] we should come to the third [illegible] of the *Popes*, which are *Idolatry* [illegible] St. *Leo*, and [illegible] Council of his time. [illegible] *Leo* were [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] paid to [illegible] and that R[illegible]

on this third character the chief ſtreſs is laid: *Joſeph Mede* has the honour of this invention, who interpreting theſe words of *Daniel*, *he ſhall honour the God* Mauzzim, to wit, as he tranſlates it, the God of forces: and again: *he ſhall do it to fence* Mauzzim *with a ſtrange God*; underſtands this of *Antichriſt*, who ſhall call the Saints his *Fortreſſes*.

Expoſ. of Dan. on. xi. n. 38. &c. Book iii. ch. xvi. xvii. p. 666. & p. 7. Dan. xi. 38. 39.

But how can he find that *Antichriſt* will give the Saints this name? In this, ſays he, that St. *Baſil* hath preach'd to all his people, or rather to the whole univerſe, who have read and approved his divine ſermons, that the forty Martyrs, whoſe Relicks they poſſeſſed, *were towers wherely the city was defended*. St. *Chryſoſtom* hath alſo ſaid, *that the Relicks of St.* Peter *and* Paul *were more ſecure towers for* Rome *than ten thouſand ramparts*. Is not this, concludes *Mede*, raiſing up the Gods *Mauzzims?* St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom* are the *Antichriſts* who erect theſe *Fortreſſes* againſt the true God.

XXIV. St. *Baſil* and the reſt of the Saints of thoſe times accuſed of the ſame Idolatry. *Ib. c. xvii. p. 672. Bad. orat. in 40. Mart. Id. in Mauz. Mart. Chryſ. Hom. 32. ad Rom.*

Yet not they alone: the Poet *Fortunatus* hath ſung after St *Chryſoſtom*, *that* Rome *had two ramparts and two towers in St.* Peter *and St.* Paul. St. *Gregory* has ſaid as much of them. St. *Chryſoſtom* repeats again, *that the holy Martyrs of* Egypt *protect us like impregnable ramparts, like unſhaken rocks, againſt our inviſible enemies*. And *Mede* ſtill replies, *are not theſe* Mauzzims? he adds that St. *Hilary* diſcovers likewiſe our bulwarks in the Angels. He cites St. *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* Brother to St. *Baſil*, *Gennadius*, *Evagrius*, St. *Eucherius*, *Theodoret*, and the prayers of the *Greeks* in proof of the ſame. He does not forget that the *Croſs* is call'd our defence, and that our common expreſſion is, *we fortify ourſelves with the ſign of the Croſs*; *Munire ſe ſigno Crucis*: the *Croſs* comes in amongſt the reſt, and

XXV. Other Saints likewiſe Idolaters. *Ibid. p. 673. Hom. 59. ad Pop. Ant. Chrys. in Act. Apost. Ibid. p. 675.*

this

this sacred symbol of our salvation must also be rank'd amongst the *Mancenus* or *Antichrist*.

XXVI. St. [illegible] and [illegible] to Mr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 245 [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. *Jurieu* sets off all these fine passages of *Joseph Mede* to the best advantage; and not to be a meer transcriber, adds to them St. *Ambrose*, who says, the Saints *Gervase* and *Protase* were the tutelary Angels of the City of *Milan*. He might also have named St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Isidor*, and in those, all the Fathers who abound in such strong expressions. All this is making as many Gods of the Saints, because it's making of them *Rampart* and *Rock*, where is found a secure sanctuary, names which the Scripture appropriates to God.

XXVII. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Thele men know well in their own consciences, that the Fathers, whom they quote, never understood it so: but meant only to say, that God gives us in the Saints, as heretofore he did in *Moses*, in *Daniel*, and in *Jeremiah*, invincible protectors, whose acceptable prayers are a more secure defence to us, than a thousand ramparts: for he is able to make of his Saints, when he pleases, and in the manner that he pleases, [illegible] *Moses*, and [illegible] *Jeremiah*. Our Doctors, I say again, are convinced in their hearts, that in the book of St. *Cyprian* and St. *Basil* where they call the Saints *Pillars* and *Foundations*, from these examples they ought to learn, not to take in a criminal sense, or at [illegible] and with as innocent as [illegible] to carry impiety to the [illegible] Doctors the [illegible] this being a charge [illegible] *Church* of their [illegible] Wherefore they did but pour [illegible] it was to [illegible] Mede [illegible] what they find, and [illegible] better than *Bellarmin*.

mers and *Idolaters*. All we can conclude from thence is, that they suffer themselves to be transported beyond all bounds, and without enlightning the understanding, seek only to kindle hatred in the heart.

XXVIII. Why they dont make St. *Basil* the beginner of *Antichristianism* as well as St. *Leo*. *Ann. 2. p. 1. f. 23.*

But after all, if we must hold for *Antichrists* all these pretended worshippers of *Mauzzims*, why do they defer to St. *Leo*'s time, the beginning of the *Antichristian* Empire? Let them shew me that in this *Pope's* days, more was done for the Saints than acknowledging them for *Towers* and impregnable *Fortresses*? Let them shew me, more trust was put in their prayers, more honour paid to their Relicks? You say that in 300, and 390, the Worship of creatures, that is, in your notion, that of the Saints, was not as yet establish'd in the publick service: shew me, it was more or less so in St. *Leo*'s time? You say, in these same years of 360, and 390, great precautions were taken not to confound the service of God with the service of creatures then commencing: shew me, less was taken afterwards, and especially in St. *Leo*'s Pontificate? But who ever could have confounded things so well distinguish'd? We demand things of God; we demand prayers of the Saints: who ever dreamt of asking either prayers of God, or the things themselves of the Saints as of those that gave them? Shew them that in St. *Leo*'s time, these so distinct characters were confounded, the service of God, with the honour given to his servants for love of him? you never will undertake it. Why therefore stop in so fair a way? dare to utter what you think. Begin by St *Basil* and St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* the reign of *Antichristian* Idolatry, and the blasphemies of the *Beast* against the *Eternal*, and against all that dwells in heaven: turn into blasphemies against God and against the Saints, what has been

said

[illegible] since that time of the glory God imparted to his servants in the Church: St. *Ruth* is no better than St. *Lot*, nor the Church more privileged at the end of the fourth age, than any years [illegible] in the middle of the [illegible]. But I see the answer you make me to your heart, yes that should [illegible] by St. *Ruth*, all would have been completed long ago, and [illegible] by the event, you could no longer [illegible] the people with vain hopes.

XXIX. *Ridiculous calculation.* *Ex [illegible] p. [illegible]* *Ridicule.*

According, our antagonists, you might begin his whole calculation from [illegible] Epoch's: [illegible] 300, [illegible], 400, or [illegible], which is the [illegible] follows. All [illegible] according to him, agree admirably with the system of the new Idolatry: but [illegible] two anti reckonings, which [illegible] pretends, agree [illegible] waiting: to wit, [illegible] opinions, the *Papal* [illegible] 1000, or [illegible] enjoys a final [illegible] calculation, it terminates [illegible] years hence, says on A[illegible] exposing himself to [illegible] Sir what [illegible] to mura on, [illegible] proved [illegible]

XXX. [illegible]

[illegible]

Empire was to be destroy'd: that there were to be seven Kings, to wit, according to all the *Protestants*, seven forms of government in the City on seven mountains, meaning *Rome*. The *Papal* Empire was to make the seventh government, and it was requisite the six others should be destroy'd to make room for the seventh which was that of the *Pope* and *Antichrist*. When *Rome* ceased to be mistress, and the *Antichristian* Empire was to commence, it was necessary there should be *ten Kings*, which were to receive the sovereign power at the same time with the *Beast*; and ten kingdoms, *into which the Roman Empire was to be subdivided*, according to the Oracle of the *Revelations*. All this was fulfilled in the nick of time under St. *Leo*: this therefore is the precise time of the birth of *Antichrist*, and there is no resisting the concurrence of such circumstances.

Admirable Doctrine! neither these ten Kings, nor the dismembring of the Empire enter'd into the constitution of *Antichrist*, nor, at furthest, could this be any thing else than an exterior token of his birth: what truly constitutes him, is the corruption of manners, is the pretension to superiority, is principally the new Idolatry. All this is no more to be found under St. *Leo*, than fourscore or a hundred years before: but God would not, as yet, impute it for *Antichristian*, nor did it please him that the new Idolatry, tho' already entirely form'd, should be *Antichristian*. 'Tis impossible, intine, that such extravagancies, where impiety and absurdity strive together which shall exceed, should not open the eyes of our Brethren, and, at length, put them out of conceit with those, who delude them with such chimeras.

But let us enter into the particulars of these fine concurrences so dazzling to our *Reformers*,

Mistakes concerning the seven Kings of Rome.

and begin with the seven Kings, who, according to St *John*, are the seven Heads of the Beast, and with these ten Horns, which, according to the same St *John*, are ten other Kings. The sense, say they, is manifest. *The seven heads*, says St. *John*, *are the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and they are seven Kings: five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space; and the Beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth king, and one of the seven, and goeth into destruction.* The seven Kings are, says our Author, the seven forms of government *Rome* had been subject to; the *Kings*, the *Consuls*, the *Decemvirs*, the *Dictators*, the military *Tribunes* who had consular power, the *Emperors*, and finally the *Popes*. *Five are fallen*, says St. *John*: five of these governments had expired when he wrote his prophecy: *one is fallen*; the Empire of the *Caesars* under which he wrote: *and the other is not come*: who does not spy the *Papal* Empire? The one of the seven Kings, one of the seven forms of government, and yet also the *eighth King*, namely, the eighth form of government: the seventh, because the *Pope* much resembles *Emperors* by the absolution which he exercises; and the eighth, because he has somewhat peculiar, his spiritual Empire, his dominion over souls, which is very small, but for one little [illegible] the whole. In the 12th place, I will [illegible] why the seven *Kings* are seven forms of *Government*, and not seven real *Kings*. I [illegible] in Scripture, that the forms of *Government* are named *Kings*; on the contrary, there are many, I say, that the ten *Kings* are ten real *Kings*, and not the forms of *Government*. Why should the seven *Kings* of earth the earth, be to [illegible] from the ten *Kings* of

verse

verſe the twelfth? Does he pretend to make us believe that the *Conſuls*, annual Magiſtrates, are *Kings?* that the intire extirpation of the *Regal* power in *Rome*, is one of the ſeven *Kings* of *Rome?* that ten men, the *Decemviri*, are one *King*, and the whole ſeries of four or ſix military *Tribunes* more or leſs, another *King?* But in good truth, is that another form of goverment? who is ignorant that the military *Tribunes* differ'd not from *Conſuls*, except in the number? for which reaſon they were call'd, *Tribuni militum Conſulari poteſtate*; and if St. *John* had a mind to denote all the names of the ſupreme power among the *Romans*, why did he forget the *Triumviri?* had they not, at leaſt, as much power as the *Decemviri?* and ſhould it be ſaid, it was too ſhort to deſerve notice, why ſhould that of the *Decemviri*, which held but two years, deſerve it more? this is true, they may reply: let us put them in lieu of the *Dictators*, for there is little likelihood the *Dictatorſhip* could ever be call'd a form of government under which *Rome* continued for a certain time. 'Twas an extraordinary Magiſtracy ſet up according to the exigency of preſent circumſtances in all times of the republick, not a particular form of government. Let us remove them then and put the *Triumviri* in their ſtead. I conſent to it, and even willingly give to the interpretation of *Proteſtants* the beſt appearance it is capable of, for when all is ſaid, there is nothing in it but illuſion; one little word, as I ſaid, will ſubvert the whole Fabrick: for in ſhort, we read of the *ſeventh King* (who ſhall be, ſince they will have it, the ſeventh government) that, *when he cometh, he will be muſt continue a ſhort ſpace*. St *John* has but ſo juſt ſhewn him; and immediately, ſays he, *he goeth into deſtruction*. If this be the *Papal* Empire,

pire, it must needs be ſhort. Now it's pretended from St. John, that it muſt continue, at leaſt one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore years, at leaſt, I know, as we are told by our new Interpreter, [illegible] Wherefore it is impoſſible, the Papal Empire ſhould be meant by this prophecy.

But, replies our author, one day, as ſays St. Peter, is with the Lord as a thouſand years. A fine diſcovery! all equally is ſhort to the eyes of God, and not only the reign of the ſeventh King, but alſo the reign of all the reſt. Now St. John would diſtinguiſh this ſeventh King by comparing him with the other Kings, and his reign was to be remarkable by the ſhortneſs of its continuance. To ſhew this characteriſtick in the Papal government, who does not ſee, that being ſhort in the ſight of God, with whom nothing is durable, is not ſufficient? it ought to be ſhort in compariſon with the other governments, and ſhort by conſequence than that of [illegible] which [illegible] thirty or forty years; more ſhort than that of the Decemvirs which continued but two [illegible] of the Kings, or [illegible]

[illegible]

Visigoths; Sixth, the *Suevi* and *Alani*; Seventh, the *Wandals*; Eighth, the *Germans*; Ninth, the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, where the *Lombards* succeed them; Tenth, the *Grecians*. Here are good ten Kingdoms which the *Roman* Empire was divided into at its fall. Without disputing on the qualities, without disputing on the number, without disputing on the dates, this at least is very certain; *viz.* that as soon as ever these ten *Kings* appear, St. *John* makes them *give their power and strength unto the Beast*. We own as much, say our Interpreters, and 'tis likewise the very thing that gains our cause; for these are *the ten vassal and subject Kings which the Antichristian Empire*, namely, the Pontifical, *hath always had in subjection to worship it, and maintain its power*. Here is a wonderful tallying of incidents: but what, I pray, have the *Arian* Kings contributed to the establishment of the *Papal* Empire, such as the *Visigoths* and the *Ostrogoths*, the *Burgundians* and the *Wandals*; or the Heathen Kings, such as at that time were the *French* and *Saxons*? Are these the ten *Vassal Kings* of the Papacy, who had nothing else to do but worship it? but when was it that these *Wandals* and *Ostrogoths* worshipped the *Popes*? was it under *Theodorick* and his Successors, when the *Popes* groan'd under their tyranny? or under *Genserick*, when, with the *Wandals*, he pillag'd *Rome* and carried the spoils of it into *Africa*? And since even the *Lombards* are introduced; were they also of the number that aggrandized the Church of *Rome*, they that did all in their power to oppress her as long as ever they subsisted, namely, for two hundred years. For what were else, during this whole space of time, the *Alboini*, the *Astolphi*, and the *Didiers*, but enemies to *Rome* and the Church of *Rome*? And the *Emperors* of the *East*,

who were in reality the *Emperors* of *Rome* tho' ranged here the last under the name of *Greeks*, must they also be reckon'd amongst the *Kings and Subjects* of the *Pope*, they, whom St *Leo* and his Successors, down to the time of *Charlemain*, acknowledged for their Sovereigns? But, you'll say, these Heathen and Heretical Kings embraced the true Faith. Right; they embraced it a long while after this division into ten Kingdoms. The *French* had four Heathen Kings: the *Saxons* were not converted till the time of St *Gregory*, a hundred and fifty years after this division: the *Goths*, who reign'd in *Spain*, were converted from *Arianism* at the same time: what has this to do with those *Kings*, who, according to the pretension of our Interpreters, were to begin to reign at the same time with the *Beast*, and give up their power to him? Besides, can no other *Era* be found for the entrance of these Kings into the *Antichristian* Empire, but that of their turning *Christians*, or *Catholics*? What a happy delivery for this pretended *Antichristian* Empire, to be compounded of people converted to *Christ*!! But what is it, after all, that these Kings, so happily converted, have contributed to the establishment of the *Papal* authority? it, at their accession into the Church, they acknowledged the *Pope*, which was that of *Rome*, neither did they give him that *Supremacy* which he had before. Modly before their conversion, they acknowledged, in the *Pope*, any thing more than Christians had acknowledged in him before that time, to wit, the *Primacy* of St Peter. Nay, the *Popes*, on their side, extolled their authority over the people, otherwise, they by establishing the true Faith, and upholding regularity and discipline among them, were indeed very useful, during the minority of their

Kings

hundred years after, they concern'd themſelves with any thing elſe, or enterpriſed any thing on temporals: thus you ſee what were theſe ten *Kings*, with whom the *Papal* Empire was to commence.

But then, we are told, came other ten in their place, and theſe are they with their Kingdoms: Firſt, *Germany*; Second, *Hungary*; Third, *Poland*; Fourth, *Sweden*; Fifth, *France*; Sixth; *England*; Seventh, *Spain*; Eighth, *Portugal*; Ninth, *Italy*; Tenth, *Scotland*. Expound who can, why *Scotland* ſtands here rather than *Bohemia*; why *Sweden*, rather than *Denmark*, or *Norway*; why infine *Portugal*, as ſeparated from *Spain*, rather than *Caſtille*, *Arragon*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and the other Kingdoms: but why loſe we our time in examining theſe fancies? Let them reſolve me at leaſt, whether or no theſe were the ten Kingdoms that were to be form'd out of the remnants of the *Roman* Empire at the ſame time that *Antichriſt* was to appear, and which were to reſign their authority and power to him? What has *Poland* to do here, and the other Kingdoms of the *North*, which *Rome* was not acquainted with, and which, beyond queſtion, were not form'd of her ruins when the *Antichriſt* St. *Leo* came into the world? Is it in banter that men write, with ſo ſerious an air, ſuch ridiculous conceits? In good truth, it ill becomes thoſe, who have nothing in their mouths but the pure word of God, thus raſhly to ſport with its Oracles, and if they have nothing more pertinent whereby to explain the prophecies, it were much better to adore their ſacred obſcurity, and reſpect the future which God hath reſerved in his own hands. XXXV. Vain reply.

We muſt not wonder to ſee theſe daring Interpreters at variance among themſelves, and deſtroying XXXVI. Contradictions of the

ſtroying one another. *Joſeph Mede*, on that verſe of St *John*, importing that in a great earthquake *the tenth part of the City fell*, thought he had hit exactly, when he interpreted the tenth part with reſpect to the new *Papal Rome*, which is ten times leſs than ancient *Rome*. To come at the proof of his interpretation, he ſeriouſly compares the *Area* of old *Rome* with that of the new, and with a fine figure demonſtrates that the firſt is ten times greater than the laſt: but his diſciple Mr. *Jurieu* deprives him of ſo mathematical an interpretation. *It is* [illegible] *at the end*, cries out modeſtly the new Prophet. *The great City* St. John [illegible] [illegible] the City of Rome. [illegible] [illegible], proceeds he in a maſterly ſtrain, *that the great City is* Rome [illegible] *its Empire*. And the tenth part of the City, what ſhall it be? he has found it out: *France*, ſays he, *is the tenth part*. But how ſhall *France* fall? and does this Prophet foretel the fall of his own country? No, no, ſhe may be reduced indeed to a tottering condition; let her look to it, the Prophet threatens her: yet ſhall not periſh. When the [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible], ſhe ſhall [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] ſhe ſhall [illegible] than ever, becauſe ſhe ſhall embrace the [illegible], and [illegible] and our Kings [illegible] both [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Who [illegible] able to ſupport [illegible] But [illegible] it is more [illegible] [illegible] into a [illegible] the ſpirit of [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] Interpretation [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

them: the Phial pour'd out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, *are the Pope's emissaries, and the* Spaniards *vanquish'd in* Queen Elizabeth's *reign of glorious memory.* But good Mr. *Mede*, it seems, was in a gross mistake: his more enlightned disciple assures us, the second and third Phial *were the* Crusades, *when God return'd upon Catholicks blood for the blood of the* Vaudois *and* Albigenses *spilt by them.* These *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*, *John Wickliff* and *John Huss* with all the rest of that gang, even to the bloody *Tolerites*, appear throughout these new interpretations as faithful witnesses of the truth persecuted by the *Beast*; but they are now well known, and even this were enough to evidence the idiocy of these pretended prophecies.

Joseph Mede had out-done himself in his exposition of the fourth Phial. He saw it *poured out upon the sun, upon the chief part of the heavens, possessed by the Beast*, namely, the *Papal* Empire: the meaning whereof was, that the *Pope* was going to lose the Empire of *Germany*, which is his sun: nothing more clear. Whilst *Mede*, if you'll believe him, was printing these things *which he had meditated on long before*, he heard of the wonderful atchievements *of that pious, happy, and victorious King, whom God had sent from the* North *to defend his cause*: in a word, 'twas the great *Gustavus*. *Mede* can no longer doubt but his conjecture was an inspiration; and applies to this great King the same canticle that *David* applied to the *Messiah*: *gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty King; combate for the truth, and for justice, proceed prosperously and reign.* But the event belied the prediction; so *Mede* publish'd at once his prophecy and shame.

No

XXXIX. Remarkable [illegible]

No less remarkable is that fine passage, where, whilst *Mede* is contemplating the overthrow of the *Turkish* Empire, his Disciple, on the contrary, turns it to the [illegible] by that Empire. The *Explanation* of the *Revelations*, is to *Mede* the Empire of the *Turks* and the waters of the *Euphrates* dried up as the ruination of the sixth Vial, is the *Turkish* Empire destroy'd. He is quite in the dark: Mr *Jurieu* demonstrates to us that the *Euphrates* is the *Archipelago* and the *Bosphorus*, which the *Turks* passed in 1300, in order to possess themselves of *Greece* and *Constantinople*. More than this, *there is great likelihood that the conquests of the Turks are carried on that far in order to give them the means of contributing, together with Protestants, to the great work of God*, namely, to the destruction of the *Papal* Empire: for tho' the *Turks have never been so low as at present*, this is the very thing that makes our author believe, they'll soon rise again. *It is upon*, says he, *this [illegible], as critical in this affair. God has humbled the Reformed and the* Turks *at the same time*, TO RAISE THEM UP AGAIN AT THE SAME TIME, *and in order to make them the instruments of his vengeance against the Popish Empire*. Who would not admire this sympathy of [illegible] with the *Reformation*, and this common destiny of them both? Should the *Turks* prove successful, then will the *Reformed* (whilst the [illegible] of their victories [illegible] the time of their deliverance at hand. We [illegible] transport, as yet, to the [illegible] of the *Reformation*, of [illegible] were by sympathy with the *Turks*. One [illegible] which was [illegible] but [illegible]

ous, and knew nothing of the plagues of the two last Phials wherein this mystery was lock'd up: but at last, *after knocking, two, four, five,* and *six times, with a religious attention, the door flew open*, and he beheld this mighty secret. *Ibid. p. 94.*

XL. Why these absurdities tolerated in the Party.

Men of sense, you'll tell me, among the *Protestants*, laugh at these fooleries as well as we. Yet they let them take their run knowing them necessary to amuse the credulous multitude. Chiefly by these visions was hatred excited against the Church of *Rome*, and hopes fomented of her speedy overthrow. The same artifice is employ'd again for the same purpose, and the people, a hundred times deceived, give ear to them, as the *Jews*, abandon'd to the spirit of error, did heretofore to false Prophets. Examples are quite useless to disabuse a people possessed with prejudice. They believed they saw, in the prophecies of *Luther*, the expiration of the *Papacy* so near at hand that there was not a *Protestant* who did not hope to be present at its funeral. It was necessary indeed to prolong the time, but the same spirit was kept up still, and the *Reformation* never ceased to be the bubble of these lying Prophets, who prophesy the delusions of their frantick brain.

XLI. The Party's Prophets are impostors. Confession of the Minister *Jurieu* [illegible] *Ch.* at the beginning. *p. 5. 67. Ibid.*

God forbid I should lose my time in speaking here of a *Cotterus*, a *Drabicius*, a *Christina*, a *Comenius*, and all those other Visionaries, whereof our Minister boasts the predictions and acknowledges the errors. None of them, as he pretends, no not even the learned *Usher*, but must turn Prophet. But the same Minister frankly owns, he was no less mistaken than the rest. Experience proved them all deluded, *and we discover in them*, says the Minister, *so many things in which they blunder'd, that there is no relying on them.* Yet he nevertheless accounts them Prophets,

phets, and great Prophets, *new-born* and *young men.* He makes [illegible] *ancient Prophets* [illegible] great [illegible]. Thus does the chief of the *Prophets* suffer himself to be imposed on by these idle Prophets, even after that the event had confounded them: so prevalent is the spirit of illusion in the Party; but the true Prophets of the Lord deliver themselves in another strain against such Impostures as abuse the name of God; "*Hear this, O Hananiah*, [illegible], this word that I speak in thine ears, and "in the ears of all the people. The Prophets "that have been before me, and before thee of "old, and have prophesied good or evil to "nations and to kingdoms; when their words "came to paſs, it was known that they were "Prophets whom the Lord had truly sent; and "the word of the Lord came unto *Jeremiah*, "saying; go, and tell *Hananiah*, saying, thus "saith the Lord; thou hast broken the yokes "of wood, [illegible] "and thou shalt make for them yokes "of iron: I will aggravate the yoke of those "nations [illegible]. "Then "said the Prophet *Jeremiah* unto *Hananiah* the "Prophet: Hear now *Hananiah*; the *Lord* "hath not sent thee, but thou makest this people "to trust in a lye: therefore thus saith the *Lord*, "behold, I will cast thee from off the face of "the earth: this year thou shalt die, because "thou hast spoken rebellion against the *Lord*. So *Hananiah* "the Prophet died the same year, in "the seventh month." [illegible] I desire to [illegible]

[illegible]

Of

Our *Reformed* Interpreters are no better worth than our *Reformed* Prophets. The *Revelations* and the rest of the prophecies have ever been the subject, which the wits of the *Reformation* have thought themselves at liberty to sport with. Each one has discover'd in them his *extravagances*, whereby the credulous *Protestants* were always caught. Mr. *Jurieu* reproves often, as we have seen, *Joseph Mede* whom he had chosen for his guide. Nay, he has pointed out the errors of *Du Moulin* his Grand father, whose interpretations on the prophecies were admired by the whole *Reformation*; and has even shew'd, *that the foundation he built upon was destitute of solidity*. Nevertheless, there was abundance of wit, and a very extensive erudition in these visions of *Du Moulin*: but so it is, the more wit a man has, the more he deceives himself in these occasions; because, the more wit he has, the more he invents, and ventures the more. *Du Moulin*'s fine wit, which must needs exercise itself on futurity, set him on a task he is laugh'd at for, even in his own family; and Mr. *Jurieu* his Grand-son, who perhaps shews more wit than the rest on this subject, will be but the more certainly the laughter of mankind.

XIII. There is [illegible]

I am ashamed of dwelling so long on visions more chimerical than sick mens dreams. But I ought not to forget what is of greatest importance in this vain mystery of the *Protestants*. According to the idea they give of the *Revelations*, nothing should be more distinctly marked in them, than the *Reformation* itself with its authors, who came to destroy the Empire of the *Beast*; and especially it ought to be marked in the effusion of the *seven Phials* in which *are* foretold, as they pretend, the seven plagues of the *Antichristian* Empire. But without Interpre-

XIII. [illegible]

ters dearly here, is so ill-contrived, that one de-
7 *Mede* stroys what the other builds. *Joyce Mede*
of Pr. thinks he hath found his *Lamb* and *Christ*
Jesus when the *Phial* is poured on the *sea*, that is, on
3 the *Antichristian* waters, and when immediately
this *sea is a dead sea, blood like that of a dead*
man. Here, says he, is the *Reformation*; 'tis a
Rev. xiii. potion that kills every thing, and then *every*
living soul dies in the sea. *Mede* takes care to
explain this blood like to that of a carcass, and
says, 'tis as the blood of a member lopt off, on
Mede p. account *of the Provinces and Kingdoms which were*
then rent from the Body of the Papacy. This is
an ill-boding spectacle for *Protestants*, to see the
Reformed nations exhibited to them in no other
view than that of *Lopt members* which have lost,
according to *Mede*, *all communion with the foun-*
tain of life, *as Scripture speaks*, *and all animal*,
without telling us any more of the matter.

This is *Mede*'s idea of the *Reformation*. But
if he sees it in the effusion of the *second Phial*,
the other Interpreter sees it only in the effusion
of the *fifth*, *when there was*, says St. *John*,
a great darkness in the Palace of Heaven, *from*
the smoke, *says he*, *it is clear*. *And there were*
voices, *and thunders*, *and lightnings*; *and there*
was a great earthquake, *such as had not been since*
men upon earth: there, says he, is the *Reformation*.

This great commotion, I must own, has
well enough wrought in the disturbances it raised over
the whole universe, such as never had been seen
before or since the time of Religion. But here
he finds much *to great fault and accuse the*
three parties, says our author, into the
Church of *Rome*, the *Lutheran*, and the *Calvi-*
nists: these are the three Parties that divide the
great Body, to wit, the *Christian* Church. I ad-

cept the omen; the *Reformation* breaks *Unity*: in breaking it, she divides herself into two, and leaves *Unity* to the Church of *Rome* in St. *Peter*'s Chair which is the center of it. But St. *John* should not have forgotten that one of the divided parties, the *Calvinian*, broke again into two pieces, since *England*, reckon'd to appertain to it by our Minister, yet makes in the main a Sect apart; nor must he say, this division is but light, for by his own Confession, they mutually treat each other *as excommunicated persons*. Accordingly, the Church of *England* reckons the *Calvinists* or *Puritans* in the number of *Nonconformists*, that is, in the number of those whose service she does not allow, nor receives their Ministers but by ordaining them anew as Pastors void of allowance and character. I might also speak of the other Sects which divided the Christian world at the same time with *Luther* and *Calvin*, and which, taken together or separately, make a Party sufficiently great not to have been omitted in this passage of St. *John*. And all consider'd, these men should have given their *Reformation* a more specious character than that of overthrowing every thing, and a more creditable mark, than that of pulling to pieces the *Western* Church the most flourishing of the whole universe; which has been the greatest of all plagues.

S. Lon. p. 44.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

VARIATIONS

OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XIV.

From the year 1[illegible], to that part of the [illegible] Century wherein the Author [illegible] concluded his History.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

[illegible] Reformation [illegible] Prophecies [illegible] Holland [illegible] Popery [illegible] Roman Emperor, [illegible] Doctrine [illegible] Cautions [illegible] Proceedings [illegible] Popery [illegible]

Arminians. *The uselessness of Synodical decisions among* Protestants. *The Synod of* Dort's *connivance at an infinity of Capital errors, whilst bent on maintaining the particular* Dogmata *of* Calvinism. *These* Dogmata *confessed at the beginning for essential, at last, reduced almost to nothing. Decree of* Charenton *for receiving the* Lutherans *to Communion. Consequence of this decree which changes the state of Controversies. The distinction of articles* Fundamental *and* not Fundamental *obliges* Protestants *to own, at last, the Church of* Rome *for a true Church affording salvation to her Members. Conference of* Cassel *betwixt the* Lutherans *and* Calvinists. *Their agreement, wherein decisive grounds are establish'd for Communion under one kind. Present state of Controversies in* Germany. *The opinion concerning* Universal *Grace prevails in* France: *Is condemn'd at* Geneva *and among the* Swiss. *The question decided by the* Magistrate. *Formulary establish'd. The error of this Formulary with respect to the* Hebrew *text. Another decree concerning Faith, made at* Geneva. *That Church impeach'd by Mr.* Claude *of making a* Schism *from the rest of the Churches by her new Decisions. Reflexions on the* Test, *in which the* Reality *remains intire. Acknowledgment of the* Protestant *Church of* England, *that the* Mass *and* Invocation *of Saints may have a good sense.*

I.

Intolerable excesses of Calvinism. Free-will destroy'd, and God made the author of

THE subject of *Grace* and *Free-will* was carried to such lengths in the *Reformation*, that it was impossible even *Protestants* themselves should not be at last sensible of these exorbitancies. In order to destroy *Pelagianism*, which they

they were determin'd to fix on the Church of *Rome*, they had cast themselves into the opposite extreams; insomuch that the very name of *Free-will* raised a horror in them. There never had been such a thing in Men or Angels: nay, impossible it should have been; nor had the *Stoicks* themselves ever made Fate more rigid and inflexible. *Predestination* reach'd even to sin itself, and God was not less the cause of evil actions than of good: such were *Luther*'s sentiments; *Calvin* had follow'd them, and *Beza*, the most renown'd of his disciples, had publish'd *a brief confession of the chief points of the Christian Religion*, where he laid down this foundation, *that God does all things according to his unalterable council, even those which are wicked and execrable.*

He had extended this principle as far as the sin of the first Man, which, according to him, was not committed but by God's will and appointment, on account, that *he having ordain'd the end*, which was to glorify his justice in the punishment of the Reprobate, *and likewise ordain'd the proximate causes leading to that end*, to wit, sins which lead to eternal damnation, and in particular that of *Adam*, the origin of all the rest; so that *the corruption of the posterity of God*, namely, the first Man, *was not foreseen by him, but was ordain'd by the decree and [illegible] of God.*

[illegible] this author maintains at the same [illegible] [illegible] that thus, by [illegible] and [illegible] times, that what is *Contingent*, [illegible] to that notion hinders the [illegible] of [illegible] the left the fatal consequence of [illegible] necessity; [illegible] of [illegible], *Beza* does not answer them

them as he ought to do, that God does not move them to sin: but says only, *they must be left to plead against him, who will be well able to defend his own cause.*

IV. This Doctrine of *Beza* taken from *Calvin.* *Lib. de Æt. Dei prædest. quæst.* 704. 705. *Lib.* III. *c.* 23. *n.* 7. 8. 9.

This Doctrine of *Beza* was taken from *Calvin*, who maintains in express terms, that *Adam could not avoid falling, yet was nevertheless guilty, because he fell voluntarily*; which he undertakes to prove in his *Institution*, and reduces the whole of his Doctrine to two principles: the first, that the will of God causes in all things, even in our wills, without excepting that of *Adam*, an inevitable necessity; the second, that this necessity is no excuse for sinners. Hereby it's plain, he preserves *Free-will* in name only, even in the state of innocence; and after this, there is no room for disputing whether he makes God the author of sin, since besides his frequently drawing this consequence; it is but too evident by the principles he lays down, that the will of God is the sole cause of that necessity imposed on all that sin.

Deprædest. de vocat. præscid. &c.

Nor indeed are *Calvin*'s sentiments and those of the first *Reformers* any longer disputed now, as to that point; and after owning what they have said upon it, *even that God justles on the wicked to enormous crimes, and that he is in some sort the cause of sin*, his disciples think they have sufficiently justified the *Reformation* from these so impious expressions, on account that *they have not been employ'd for more than a hundred years*; as if it were not a sufficient conviction of the evil spirit she was conceived in, to confess in her very Authors such horrid blasphemies.

Jur. jugem. sur la mach. Soci. xvii. *p.* 142. 143.

Jur. Ibid.

V. The tenets which *Calvin* and *Beza* of rejected

Such therefore was the fatality which *Calvin* and *Beza* taught after *Luther*; and thereto the afore-seen *Dogmata* were added by them touching the certainty of salvation and the *indefectibility*

to the [illegible] of Justice. As much as to say, true justifying Faith could never be lost: those that have it, are surely certain of having it, and thereby are not only certain of their present Justice, as spoke the *Lutherans*, but also of their eternal salvation, and this with an absolute and infallible certainty: assured, by consequence, of dying just, whatever crimes they might commit; and not only of dying just, but also of continuing so in sin itself, because without that, they could not maintain the sense given by them to this text of St. Paul, *The gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

VI. This is what *Beza* likewise decided in the same exposition of Faith, where he said, that to the elect *was granted the gift of Faith: that the Faith which is proper and peculiar to the elect, consists in depending with certainty, each one for himself, on their election*: whence it follows, that *before Faith the gift of true Faith, consists in a hope of its perseverance.* For as he says, *How can it be [illegible] if it not equal perseverance in Faith [illegible] requisite, that [illegible] be [illegible]?* Then he reckons among the fruits of the Doctrine, *that it also [illegible] which he takes to be of [illegible], [illegible] says he, [illegible] the Christian religion.*

Lastly, the certainty, which every man has of his own Faith, and Perseverance, is not only a certainty of Faith, but also the principal foundation of the Christian Religion: and to shew, he speaks not here of a moral and conjectural certainty, *Beza* adds, *that we have it in our power to know whether we be predestinated or not [illegible], which is a sure and strong argument which*

we expect, on account of which all *Satan's* war is waged *against us*; *yea, say I, assured*, continues he, *not by our fancy, but by conclusions as certain, as if we had ascended into heaven to hear that sentence from the mouth of God.* He will not have the faithful aspire to less certainty than this; and after proposing the means of attaining to it, which he places in the certain knowledge we have of the Faith that is in us, he concludes, *we* thereby *learn that we are given to the Son according to God's purpose and Predestination*: by consequence, proceeds he, *since that God is unalterable, since that perseverance in the Faith is requisite to salvation, and being made certain of our Predestination, Glorification is annex'd to it by an indissoluble hand: how can we doubt of perseverance, and finally of our salvation.*

his own mouth. *Ib. Conc.* II. *p.* 121.

VIII. *Calvinists* begin to be sensible of these excesses.

As the *Lutherans*, no less than the *Catholicks* abominated these *Dogmata*, and the writings of the first were read with a more favourable prevention by the *Calvinists*; the horror of these sentiments, unheard of till *Calvin*'s days, spread itself by little and little among the *Calvinian* Churches. Men began to awake and perceive, how horrible it was, that a true believer could not fear for his salvation in contradiction to this precept of the Apostle: *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling*. If it be a temptation and weakness to fear for ones salvation, as in *Calvinism* men are forced to say: why does St. *Paul* command this fear; and can a temptation fall within the precept?

Phil. ii. 12

IX. They oppose this fear commanded by St. *Paul*.

The answer return'd by them was not satisfactory. The believer trembles, said they, when he regards himself, because, however just he may be, he hath nothing in himself but death and damnation; and would indeed be damn'd, were he judged with rigour. But resting assured

that he shall not be so judged, what has he to fear? the future, say they; because, should he forsake God, he would perish: weak reasoning! since, besides their holding the condition itself impossible, they hold moreover, that the true faithful ought to believe assuredly, they shall persevere. Thus in all manner of ways, the fear inspired by St. *Paul*, is banish'd, and salvation render'd certain.

X. Fraudulent evasion.

When they answer; without fearing for salvation, there are other chastisements enough to afford just occasion of trembling; the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* reply, that this fear mention'd by St. *Paul* does manifestly regard salvation: *Work out*, says he, *your own salvation with fear and trembling*. The Apostle inspired a terror reaching so far as to fear *making shipwreck in the Faith*, as well as *in a good conscience*; and *Jesus Christ* himself had said, *fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell*; a precept which concern'd the faithful as well as the rest, and made them fear no less a thing than the loss of their own souls. To these proofs they added those from experience: the Idolatries, and blasphemies ta'ld of a *Solomon* adorn'd wonderfully and filled with all the gifts of Grace; the abominable crimes of a *David*, besides what every person is conscious of in his own heart! What! says he, *Jesus*, without security against crimes, you should be secure against temptations; and take heed, who stands, lest he fall! Should faithful, though they believe that the virtue of Repentance brings them back into whatever dangers they have fallen into, yet not have the courage in the midst of crimes, He must, in the midst of holy but fearful meditations, of his Faith and of the Grace he has received, Dare he not hope? He must then, amidst so many crimes, as in adversity;

and,

and, provided he argue aright according to the principles of his Sect, shall find therein wherewith to condemn all whatever doubts might arise of his conversion; so that, whilst he continues to live amidst disorders, he will be sure not to die in them: or else, will be sure he never had been a true Believer when he most believed himself such; and there you see him in despair, never able to hope for more certainty of his salvation than he had enjoy'd then, nor able, do what he will, ever to secure himself in this life that he shall not relapse into the deplorable state he now is in. What remedy for all this, unless to conclude, that the infallible certainty, boasted of in *Calvinism*, suits not with this life, and that nothing is more rash nor pernicious than such certainty.

XI Justifying Faith not forfeited by sin.

But how much is it more so, to hold ones self assured, I don't say to recover lost Grace with true justifying Faith, but not to lose them in sin itself; to remain therein still just and regenerated; to preserve therein the *Holy Ghost*, and the seed of life, as the *Calvinists* undoubtedly believe if they follow *Calvin* and *Beza* and the other chief Doctors of their Sect? For, according to them, justifying Faith is peculiar to the sole elect, who are never deprived of it; and *Beza* said in the *Exposition* so often quoted, *that Faith, altho' it be as it were buried sometimes in the Elect of God, in order to make them sensible of their infirmity; yet it never is without the fear of God and charity for our neighbour.* And a little further on, he says two things concerning the spirit of *Adoption*: *First*, that those, who are planted in the Church only *for a time*, do never receive it; *Second*, that those who are admitted among the people of God by this spirit of *Adoption*, do never go forth from them.

S. I ix. *n.* 15.

Ch. iv. *Ch.* 13 *p.* 74.

Ibid. ch. 5. *Cons.* 6. *p.* 90.

XII. What Scripture-texts *Calvinists* grounded themselves on. *Bid p. 74. Rom. xi. 29.*

This Doctrine was grounded on these texts. *God is not like to man, to lie as a liar; nor like to the son of man, to repent.* Which also was the reason why St *Paul* said, *That the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.* What then, does not man lose any of the gifts of God in adulteries, in homicides, in the blackest of crimes, not even in Idolatry? And if some of them at least may be lost for a time and during this state; why should not justifying Faith, and the Presence of the Holy Ghost be of this number, nothing being more incompatible with the state of sin, than such Graces?

XIII. Question proposed to the *Calvinists*, whether a Believer were damn'd that died in a crime.

In regard to this last difficulty, a very material query was also proposed, which I beg may be attentively consider'd, because it will be the subject of an important dispute to be treated of soon. The *Calvinist* is therefore ask'd; Whether this true Believer, *David* for instance, fallen into adultery and murder, would be saved or damn'd dying in this state before he had done Penance? None durst answer, he would be saved: and indeed, how can a Christian maintain, any may be saved with such crimes? This true Believer would be therefore damn'd dying in this state; this true Believer, in this state has therefore ceased to be just, since none will ever say of a just man, that he would be damn'd dying in his justice.

XIV. The *Calvinists* have recourse to their predestination.

To answer, he shall not die in his sin, but will do penance if he be of the number of the predestinated, is saying nothing; for it is not predestination, nor the penance we shall do one day, which justifies and makes us Saints: otherwise, a predestinated Infidel would actually be sanctified and justified even before he has Faith and Repentance; since, before he had either of them, he was already certainly predestinated;

God

God had already certainly decreed, he ſhould have them.

If it be anſwer'd, this Infidel is not actually juſtified and ſanctified, becauſe he has not as yet had Faith and Repentance, altho' he be to have them hereafter; whereas, the true Believer hath them already: here ariſes a new perplexity; for it would follow from thence, that Faith and Repentance, but once exerciſed by the faithful, juſtify and ſanctify them actually and for ever, altho' ceaſing to exerciſe them, and even abandoning them by abominable crimes: a thing more horrible to conceive than all hitherto ſaid, on this ſubject.

XV. This no indifferent queſtion.

Again, this is no chimerical queſtion; 'tis a queſtion that every Believer, when he ſins, ſhould make to himſelf: or rather, 'tis a judgment he ought to pronounce; were I to die in the ſtate I am in, I ſhould be damn'd. To add after this, but I am predeſtinated, and ſhall amend one day; and by reaſon of this future amendment, am, at this inſtant, juſt and holy and a living member of *Chriſt Jeſus*: is utter blindneſs.

XVI. Theſe difficulties were the occaſion of many forſaking *Calvinism*. *S. I. vii. n. 52. Fiat. xi. Concord. p. 621. Jill. ep. 60. n. 505. Ep. 19.*

Whilſt *Catholicks*, and *Lutherans* more readily hearken'd to than they in the new *Reformation*, urged home theſe arguments, many *Calviniſts* were convinced; and ſeeing on the other hand amongſt the *Lutherans* a more engaging Doctrine, were attracted by it. A general will in God to ſave all mankind; in *Jeſus Chriſt*, a ſincere intention to redeem them, and means ſufficient offer'd unto all, was what the *Lutherans* taught in the book of *Concord*. We have ſeen as much: we have ſeen even their exceſſes touching theſe offer'd means and the co-operation of *Free-will*: they gave daily more and more into theſe ſentiments, and the *Calviniſts* began to liſten to them, principally in *Holland*.

James

XVII. *Arminius* [illegible] excesses [illegible]

James Arminius, a famous Minister of *Amsterdam*, and since Professor of Divinity in the university of *Leyden*, was the first that declared himself in the university against the maxims received in the Churches of his country: but a man of so vehement a temper was not like to keep within just bounds. He openly blamed *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Zanchius*, and the rest, whom *Calvinism* accounted her main pillars and support. But he impugn'd excesses with other excesses; and besides his apparently drawing near to the *Pelagians*, was suspected, nor without reason, of something worse: certain words falling from him, made him believed favourable to *Socinianism*, and a great number of his disciples turning afterwards to that side, confirm'd the suspicion.

[illegible]

XVIII. [illegible]

He met with a terrible adversary in the person of *Francis Gomar* Professor of Divinity in the university of *Groningen*, a rigorous *Calvinist* if ever there was one. The *Academies* divided themselves between these two Professors: the division increased: the Ministers espoused the quarrel; *Arminius* held whole Churches in his Party. His death did not end the dispute. And the minds of men on both sides were so inflamed under the name of *Remonstrants* and *Anti-Remonstrants*, namely, of *Arminians* and *Gomarists*, that the *United Provinces* saw themselves on the very brink of a civil war.

[illegible]

Maurice Prince of *Orange* had his reasons for supporting the *Gomarists*. [illegible] his enemy was [illegible] favourable to the *Arminians*; and the [illegible] was his proposing a mutual toleration and [illegible] on both Parties.

[illegible] the name of *Remonstrants*. A Party [illegible] up, [illegible] yet [illegible] more than time to [illegible] strength.

ſtrength: but the Miniſters, among whom *Gomar* prevail'd, were bent on victory, and the Prince of *Orange* had more skill than to let a Party ſtrike root, which he judged as oppoſite to his grandeur as to the primitive maxims of the *Reformation*.

XX. The *Remonſtrants* condemn'd in the Provincial Synod. Convocation of the Synod of *Dort*.

The Provincial Synods had done no other than aggravate the evil by condemning the *Remonſtrants*; it was neceſſary to proceed at length to a greater remedy: wherefore the *States-General* aſſembled a national Synod, and invited to it all thoſe of their Religion in every country. Upon this invitation *England*, *Scotland*, the *Palatinate*, *Heſſe*, the *Swiſs*, the Republicks of *Geneva*, of *Bremen*, and *Embden*, in a word, the whole body of the *Reformation* not united to the *Lutherans*, ſent Deputies, except the *French*, whom reaſons of ſtate prevented; and of all theſe Deputies, in conjunction with thoſe of the whole *United Provinces*, was compoſed that famous Synod of *Dort* whoſe Doctrine and procedure we are now to relate.

XXI. Opening of the Synod. Sess. XXIII.

This aſſembly open'd the fourteenth of *November* 1618, with a ſermon preach'd by *Balthaſar Lydius* Miniſter of *Dort*. The firſt Seſſions were taken up in regulating divers matters of diſcipline, or of procedure, nor was it till the thirteenth of *December*, in the thirty firſt ſitting, that, properly ſpeaking, they began to treat of Doctrine.

XXII. The Diſpute reduced to five heads. Decision of the *Remonſtrants* in general.

In order to underſtand, in what manner they proceeded there; you muſt know, that after many Books and Conferences, the diſpute was at length reduced to five heads. The *Firſt*, regarded Predeſtination; the *Second*, the univerſality of Redemption; the *Third*, and the *Fourth*, which were always treated together, regarded the corruption

touching these five heads.

ruption of Man, and his Conversion; the *Fifth*, regarded Perseverance.

On these five heads, the *Remonstrants* had declared in general, in full Synod, by the mouth of *Simon Episcopius* Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, who always appears at their head, that men of great renown and repute in the *Reformation*, had laid down such things as agreed neither with God's wisdom, nor with his goodness and justice, nor with the love which *Jesus Christ* bore to all men, nor with his satisfaction and merits, nor with the sanctity of preaching and the ministry, nor with the use of the Sacraments, nor infine, with the duties of a Christian. These *great men* whom they impeach'd, were the authors of the *Reformation*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, and the rest of them whom they were not allow'd to name, yet had not at all spared in their writings. After this general declaration of their sentiment, they explain'd themselves in particular as to the five articles, and their declaration attack'd principally the *Certainty* of Salvation, and the *Inamissibility* of Justice; *tenets* by which, they pretended, piety was ruin'd in the *Reformation*, and so fine a name discredited. I shall relate the substance of this declaration of the *Remonstrants*, to the end it may be better understood, what chiefly was the subject matter of the declaration and the result thereof, in the decisions of the Synod.

XXIII. Concerning Predestination, they said, *They ought not to [illegible] in God any [illegible], above [illegible] to have [illegible] from God [illegible] the [illegible], [illegible] to give [illegible] alone, [illegible] by an [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], Perseverance, and [illegible]; but that [illegible] appointed [illegible] Christ [illegible] Redeemer [illegible] the [illegible]*

whole world, and resolved, by this decree, to justify and save all those who should believe in him, and at the same time, to give to all of them sufficient means in order to be saved; that none perish'd thro' want of these means, but thro' the abuse thereof; that the absolute and especial election of particular persons, was made in view of their Faith and future perseverance, nor was there any election but conditional; that reprobation likewise was made in view of mens infidelity and perseverance in so great an evil. *Ibid.*

XXIV. Doctrine of the *Remonstrants* concerning Infant-Baptism, and what they would conclude from it. *Art.* IX. *Ibid.*

They added two points worthy of particular consideration: the first, that all children of the faithful are sanctified, and none of them, dying before the use of reason, are damn'd; the second, that with much more reason none of these children dying after Baptism before the use of reason are damn'd.

In saying that all the children of the faithful are sanctified; they did but repeat what we have clearly seen in the *Calvinian* Confessions of Faith; and if they be sanctified, 'tis evident they cannot be damn'd, in this state. But after this first article, the second seem'd unnecessary; for if these children were secure of their salvation before *Baptism*, after it's reception, there could be no question of it. 'Twas therefore with a particular design that this second article was inserted, and the *Remonstrants* would thereby denote the inconstancy of the *Calvinists*, who on one hand, to salve the *Baptism* given to all these children, said, they were all Saints, and born in the *Covenant*, the sign whereof, by consequence, could not be refused them; and to salve, on the other hand, the Doctrine of the *Inamissibility* of justice, said that *Baptism* given to children had not its effect, but in the sole predestinated; so that the baptized, that lived ill afterwards, never

had been Saints, not even with the *Baptism* they had receiv'd in their infancy.

Remark, I beseech the judicious Reader, this important difficulty; it strikes home to the question of *Inamissibility*, and 'twill be curious to behold, how the Synod will behave in this regard.

XXV. Decrees and Canons concerning the universality of Redemption.

As to the second head, touching the universality of Redemption, the *Remonstrants* said, that *the price pay'd by the Son of God was not only sufficient to all, but actually offer'd for all and every individual person; that none were excluded from the fruit of Redemption by an absolute decree, or otherwise than by their own fault; that God, pacified with his son, had made a new treaty with all mankind, ruin'd first and damn'd.* They said, by this treaty he had bound himself, in respect of all, to afford them those sufficient means as above mention'd: *but that the remission of sins, merited for all, was not given actually, except the actual Faith, whereby man is actually in Jesus Christ*; by which words they gave to understand, that whoever lost, by his crimes, actual Faith which justifies us, lost also, together with it, justification and Sanctity; finally they said also, [illegible] *if not actual for him, [illegible] if it [illegible] Christ died not for him.* [illegible] further than it seem'd. For the design of it was to shew [illegible] according to Calvin's and the Canons's Doctrine, who had down [illegible] unbelieved *Divine*, that Jesus Christ did not die in any sort but for the *Predestinated*, and in no sort for the Reprobate: that it follow'd from thence, that to be enabled to say, *Jesus Christ died for me*, one ought to be

affured,

assured, with an absolute certainty, of his Predestination and eternal happiness, without ever being able to say, *he died for me, but I have render'd his death and redemption unserviceable to me:* a Doctrine which defeats all preaching of the word to Christians, who, if bad livers, are continually told, they have made themselves unworthy of being redeem'd by *Jesus Christ*. Accordingly this was one of those articles by which the *Remonstrants* maintain'd, that, in the *Reformation*, all the sincerity and holiness of preaching was subverted as well as this text of St. *Peter: They have denied the Lord that bought them, and brought upon themselves swift perdition.* 2 Pet. ii. 1.

XXVI. Their Doctrine as to the third and fourth head. Ead. [illegible] p. 110. [illegible] Ibid. p. 111.

Touching the third and fourth head, after saying that Grace is necessary to all good, not only to finish, but also to begin it, they added, *that efficacious Grace was not irresistible.* This was their expression, and that of the *Lutherans*, whose Doctrine they bragg'd of following. Their meaning was, that one might resist all kind of Grace; and thereby, as every one sees, they pretended, *That altho' Grace were bestow'd unequally, yet God gave or offer'd a sufficient Grace to all those the Gospel was announced to, even to those that were not converted; and offer'd it with a sincere and serious desire of saving them all without acting two different parts, seeming inclined to save, and at bottom unwilling to do it, and moving men interiorly to sins which he forbad exteriorly.* In all these places they aim'd directly at the authors of the *Reformation*, and that unsincere vocation which they attributed to God, while he openly call'd those to Grace whom in reality he excluded from it, predestinating them to evil.

In order to shew how far Grace was *resistible* (these words warranted by use, must be allow'd to avoid circumlocution) they had inserted an article Art. VII. Ibid. 117.

article, which said, *that man could do more good by the Grace of the Holy Ghost than he did, and keep at a further distance from evil than he did*; he therefore frequently remitted Grace, and made it useless.

XXVII. Decisions of the Synod concerning the Imputation of Adam's Sin. *Ead. Sess. 5. Can. 1. 2. 3.*

Concerning Perseverance, they decided, that *God gave to his elect, regenerated by his Grace, means for preserving them in that state: that they might rise in true justifying Faith, and fall into sin, or impenitence, into justification, even into damnation, persevere in them, die in them, or recover from their sins by repentance, according as God, reconciled to them by Grace.* Here is what they urged with the greatest efforts, *designing, and they, from the bottom of their hearts, to impose* Dogmata, *and contrary to good morals, and to the doctrine of the people*; viz. *that the elect could not fall into the sins of adultery, and even the sins of ignorance and weakness: that God was the Grace: that all the commandments put together could not frustrate God's purpose, nor deprive them of the certainty thereof*; adding, added they, *which open'd a door to all sorts of profaneness and impiety: that no crime, but heresy, alone, could be imputed to them: that God's elect, if fallen, repented: that in the midst of Thefts, of Adulteries, of Murder, for which they might be condemned, they could not lose God's Grace.*

XXVIII. Their Decisions concerning Faith and Justification, which the Synod condemned.

Faith and Justification were what the disputes excesses turned upon. To lose Faith and the Grace of Justification *totally*, was to lose it wholly for a certain time; to lose it *finally*, was to lose it for ever and beyond recovery. Both the one and the other were not impossible in Calvinism, and both of these excesses were condemned by the Synod.

They

They concluded the declaration of their Doctrine, by saying that, as the true Believer might, in the time present, be assured of his Faith and good Conscience, he might also be assured for that time, should he then die, of his eternal Salvation; that he might also be assured of being able to persevere in the Faith, forasmuch as Grace would never fail him for that end: but to be assured of always doing his duty, they did not see how he *could be so, nor how this assurance could be necessary for him.* XIX.

If you desire now to comprehend in few words the whole of their Doctrine, the foundation of it was, that there is no absolute Election, no gratuitous preference whereby God prepares for certain chosen persons, and for them only, certain means to lead them to Glory: but that God offers to all men, and especially all those to whom the Gospel is publish'd, sufficient means of conversion, which some make use of, and others not, without employing any other for his *Elect* more than for the *Reprobate*; so that *Election* always is conditional, which, the condition failing, may be forfeited. Whence they concluded in the first place, that we may lose justifying Grace, and *totally*, that is, entirely; and *finally*, that is, beyond recovery: Secondly, that Man could not in any wise be sure of his Salvation. XX. Foundation of the *Remonstrant* [illegible] gratuitous [illegible]

Altho' *Catholics* did not agree with them in the principle, they agreed with them in the two last consequences, which nevertheless they grounded on other principles, not to our purpose to set forth in this place, and likewise they agreed that the *Calvinistic* Doctrine, opposite to these consequences, was impious, and an inlet to all sorts of wickedness. XXI. Wherein [illegible]

The *Lutherans* also agreed on this point with the *Catholics* and *Remonstrants*. But the difference XXII. [illegible]

The difference between the Lutherans and Remonstrants.

rence betwixt *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* is, that these latter, denying the certainty of Perseverance, acknowledged a certainty of present Justice, in which they were follow'd by the *Remonstrants*: whereas *Catholicks* differ'd from both of them, by maintaining, none could be assured either of his future good dispositions, nor even of his present ones, which, by reason of the blindness of his love, we have always grounds to distrust; so that the confidence we have on God's side, takes not away wholly the doubt we have on our own.

Vossius and the Contra-Remonstrants opposed the Doctrine of both these, and maintain'd against the *Lutherans* and *Remonstrants*, that the true Believer was sure, not of the present only, but also of the future, and that, by consequence, of never losing *Faith*, that is, utterly; nor *finally*, that is, beyond recovery, justifying Grace or the true Faith once received.

The state of the question and the different sentiments are well understood; and never so little perspicuity in the Synod of *Dort*'s decision would have made us easily comprehend what was their Doctrine; which they were so much the more obliged to, as the *Remonstrants*, after their declaration, had summon'd those that should complain of their Doctrine's being ill represented by them, to reject distinctly every particular wherein they judged themselves wrongfully accused, and treated also the Synod to deliver their sentiments in respect of the articles that called for a decision on the side of *Remonstrance*.

In ever there was a necessity of speaking plainly, 'twas on such a destination and in such a [illegible] Time, now gave ear to the direction of the Synod.

It pronounces on the five heads proposed in four Chapters, for, as above said, the third and fourth head always went together. Each chapter hath two parts: in the first, they assert; in the second, reject and condemn. This is the Substance of their *Canons*, for so did they call the Decrees of this Synod.

XXXVI. The Synod's decision on the first head. Faith in the Elect: certainty of salvation. [illegible] xxxvi. [illegible] xxxvi. [illegible] 251.

Concerning Predestination and Election they decided, *that the decree thereof is absolute and unchangeable; that God gives true and lively Faith to all those he resolves to withdraw from common damnation*, AND TO THEM ONLY: *that this Faith is a gift of God; that all the Elect, in their time, are assured of their Election, albeit not in the same degree nor in equal measure; that this assurance is derived to them, not from the fathoming of God's secrets, but from observing in themselves, with a holy pleasure and spiritual joy, the infallible fruits of Election such as be true Faith, sorrow for their sins, and the like; that the sense and certainty of their salvation always make them better; that those, who have not as yet this sense and this certain confidence, ought to desire it; and lastly, that this Doctrine should not affright any but those, who, wedded to the world, are not seriously converted.* Here have we already for the *sole Elect*, together with true Faith, the certainty of salvation: but the thing will unfold itself hereafter much more clearly.

XXXVII. Decision on infant salvation. [illegible] xxxvii. [illegible] 252.

The seventeenth Article decides, *that the word of God declaring holy the children of the faithful, not by nature, but by the Covenant wherein they are comprised together with their parents, the believing parents ought not to doubt of the holiness and salvation of their children that are taken in infant age.*

In this Article the Synod approves the Doctrine of the *Remonstrants*, which we have heard

[illegible] nothing therefore is more [illegible] our adversaries, than [illegible] taught by [illegible] to us what are [illegible]

XXXVII. Among the [illegible] we find that [illegible] that [illegible] to say, they [illegible] who teach, [illegible] by [illegible] to live well, [illegible] not [illegible] living well; which [illegible] Doctrine we have heard the [illegible] The Spirit [illegible] and by [illegible] Certainty, which it [illegible] to prove from Scripture: but [illegible] purpose; [illegible] that the [illegible] according to the decrees of [illegible] but are [illegible] well, [illegible] Baptism [illegible] and we [illegible] much [illegible]

[illegible]

ticular is wrought in those that are converted, God calling them *efficaciously*, and giving to them Faith and Repentance. The sufficient Grace of the *Arminians*, whereby *Free-will determines itself*, is rejected as a *Pelagian tenet*. Regeneration is represented as transacted *without us*, not by *the exterior word, or by moral persuasion*, but by an operation leaving it not *in the power of man to be* REGENERATED OR NOT, to be converted, or not converted: and nevertheless, say they in this article, when the Will is *renew'd*, it is not only *pushed on and moved by God*, but *acts being moved by him, and 'tis Man that believes and repents.*

The Will therefore does not act but when converted and renew'd. What then, does it not act when one begins to desire his conversion, and to pray for the Grace of Regeneration? Or have it you already when you begin to pray for it? This they ought to have explain'd, and not say in general, Conversion and Regeneration is wrought *without us*. Many other things might be said in this place; but our business is not disputing: it's sufficient we make the Doctrine of the Synod historically well understood.

It says in the thirteenth Article, that the manner whereby this operation of regenerating Grace is wrought in us, is inconceivable: it's sufficient to conceive that by this Grace the Believer *knows and feels that he hears and loves his Saviour. He knows and feels*; here have you what is most certain within the compass of perception, to know and feel.

We read in the sixteenth Article, that as sin hath not robbed Man of his Nature, nor of his Understanding, nor of his Will; so regenerating Grace acts not in him as in a [illegible] and; it conserves to the Will its [illegible]

does not [illegible] that is, it does not make it [illegible] *thing*. What ſtrange Theology! Are not men reſolved to puzzle every thing who thus weakly expreſs themſelves on Free-will?

Amongſt the rejected errors, I find that which teaches, *that in the one conſcription of Man, God cannot communicate grataire, but [illegible] gifts by infuſion: and that Faith [illegible] are firſt converted, and from which [illegible] faithful, is not a gift and grataire by God infuſed, but only an act of Man.* I am glad to hear the infuſion of theſe new qualities and habits: it will be of great ſervice to us in order to explain the true idea of Juſtification, and to ſhew, by what means it may be obtain'd of God. For I do not believe it can be doubted but that, in thoſe who are come to the age of underſtanding, 'tis an act of Faith inſpired by God which imparts to us the Grace to receive the habit of it with that of other virtues. Yet, the infuſion of this habit will be nevertheleſs gratuitous, as will be ſeen in due time. But let us proceed, and come now to the laſt Chapter which is the moſt material, [illegible] the reſpite of the [illegible], [illegible] the Certainty of Heaven and the [illegible] of Faith, were thus [illegible] by and diſtinct.

[illegible]

is it possible, in this detestable state, they should only *lose* THE SENSE OF GRACE, and not Grace itself, and this too but SOMETIMES! but 'tis not yet time to exclaim; here is much worse: *God, in these dismal falls, does not* INTIRELY *deprive them of his Holy Spirit, nor suffers them to fall so, as to* FORFEIT THE GRACE OF ADOPTION AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION, *nor so as to commit the sin unto death, nor against the Holy Ghost, and be damn'd.* Whosoever therefore is once truly faithful, and regenerated by Grace, not only shall not perish in his crimes, but at the very time he abandons himself to them, DOTH NOT FALL FROM THE GRACE OF ADOPTION, AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION. Could *Jesus Christ* be associated with *Belial*, Grace with sin, in a more flagrant manner?

Sess. VI. Cap. 15. Decl.

The Synod indeed seems willing to preserve the faithful from some crimes, when it says, they are not *so far abandon'd as to fall into the sin unto death, or against the Holy Ghost*, which the Scripture says is not to be forgiven: but if they understand any other sin by this than that of final impenitence, I am at a loss to know what it can be, there being no such sinner, what disorders soever he may have been guilty of, that should not be made to hope the forgiveness of them. Let us however leave to the Synod to determine what other explanation it pleases of this sin: it's sufficient we see plainly, according to its Doctrine, that all crimes possible to be named, for example, an adultery as long continued, and a murder as much premeditated as that of *David*, Heresy, Idolatry even with all its abominations, which the Synod evidently allows the true Believer may fall into, are compatible *with the grace of Adoption and the state of Justification.*

XLV. What is the sin a true Believer cannot fall into.

XLVI. The Synod [illegible] plainly.

Nor can it be said, by this state the Synod understands only the right to salvation still remaining in the true Believer, namely, according to the Synod, in the predestinate, in virtue of Predestination: for on the contrary, the matter here in deliberation regards the [illegible] one has to salvation by [illegible] and Conversion, [illegible] the true Believer [illegible] is, [illegible] destin'd to, but really in possession of as well of the true Faith as of Justification. In a word, the matter in debate, is not whether you shall one day have this Grace, but whether, after having had it, you can forfeit it one moment: the Synod decides you can't. Remonstrants, complain not, you have your answer at last in plain terms as you desired, and all the pernicious Doctrine you say is believed in the Party which you accuse, all that you reject therein with such abhorrence, is decided by them in express terms.

XLVII. [illegible]

But to remove all equivocation, we must see in the Synod these essential words, [illegible] and [illegible], which are, I have shewn, the whole dispute [illegible]. We must see, I say, whether it [illegible] a true Believer [illegible] [illegible]

Here, methinks, is enough said for *Inamissibility*. Let us see as to *Certainty*.

The true faithful, says the Synod, *may be certain, and are so, of their Salvation and Perseverance, according to the measure of Faith, whereby they* BELIEVE WITH CERTAINTY *that they are, and abide, living Members of the Church, that they have forgiveness of their sins, and life eternal: a Certainty which does not accrue to them from a particular Revelation, viz. from Faith in the promises which God hath revealed in his word, and by the testimony of the Holy Ghost, and lastly, by a good conscience, and a holy and prompt application to good works.*

To leave nothing unsaid, it adds, that *in the temptations and doubts of the flesh, which we are to contend with, we do not always feel that strength of Faith and this Certainty of Perseverance*: to the end that, as often as ever you feel some doubt, and dare not promise yourself with an intire Certainty to persevere always in your duty, you may look on yourself obliged to reckon this doubt among the motions of the flesh, and the temptations you are to fight against.

XLIX. Allowance made for the Doctrine of Certainty.

Amongst the rejected errors this afterwards is reckon'd, *viz*, *that the true faithful may fall, and do often fall*, TOTALLY AND FINALLY *from justifying Faith, from Grace and Salvation, and that, during this life, you cannot have any security of future Perseverance without special Revelation.* They declare, this Doctrine brings back the doubts of *Papists*, because this Certainty, without special Revelation, was condemn'd in the Council of *Trent*.

L. Tenets rejected by the Synod, p. 2[illegible] Canons, Rejection of the Contrary.

It may be ask'd, how they reconcile, with the Doctrine of *Inamissibility*, that which is said in the Synod, *viz*, that by great crimes, the faithful committing them, *render themselves guilty of*

LI. How they reconcile Inamissibility with the Doctrine of Certainty.

of death. This is what eaſily is brought to bear with the principles of the new *Reformation*, where it's maintain'd that the true Believer, how much ſoever regenerated, remains always, by concupiſcence, *guilty of death*, not only in his great and leſs ſins, but alſo in his good-works; ſo that this ſtate, rendering us guilty of death, is no hinderance, according to the terms of the Synod, to our abiding *in the ſtate of Juſtification and Grace.*

III. The ſelf [illegible] Doctrine — But then, have we not ſaid that our *Reformed* could not deny, nor in effect did deny, but that, ſhould one die in theſe crimes without doing Penance, he would be damn'd? True it is, the greateſt part confeſs it; and altho' the Synod decided nothing in Body concerning this difficulty, it was propoſed there, as we ſhall ſee, by ſome of the Opiners. In good truth, 'tis wondrous ſtrange men can remain in an error containing ſo inevitable and manifeſt a contradiction as that is which acknowledges a ſtate of Grace, in which neverthelefs, one would be damn'd ſhould he die therein. But many other contradictions are there in this Doctrine: here is one unqueſtionably not leſs palpable than the other. In the new *Reformation*, true Faith is inſeparable from the love of God and good works, the neceſſary fruit thereof: 'tis the moſt ſteddy *Dogma* of the Reform; and here you ſee, nevertheleſs, in oppoſition to this *Dogma*, true Faith, not only without good works, but alſo in the greateſt crimes. Here, perhaps, is not all: I ſpy another contradiction [illegible] in the new *Reformation*, [illegible]: All [illegible] the [illegible] only, and then [illegible]. [illegible] they [illegible]; [illegible] and [illegible] of the *Reformation* [illegible] be pre- [illegible]

destinated: nor can one Believer, which is still more strange, have a child that is not holy and predestinated like himself: thus all their posterity are evidently predestinated, and never can a Reprobate spring from one Elect. Who of them all will dare to say it? And yet, who of them can deny, that so visible and so strange an absurdity is clearly contain'd in the principles of the Synod and the Doctrine of *Infrangibility*? It is therefore all over teeming with manifest absurdities, all over jarring with horrid contradictions: nor can it indeed be otherwise than the necessary result of error thus always to contradict itself.

LIII. All error contradicts itself.

There is no error but must fall into self-contradiction some way or other: but see what be falls man possessed with strong prejudice. He first strives, what he can, to avoid seeing this inevitable and glaring contradiction: if this cannot be done, he looks on it with a prepossession, that does not allow him to form a right judgment of it; he thinks to fence against it by soothing himself with frothy reasoning and fine words: dazzled with some specious principle to which he is strongly wedded, he's resolved never to forsake it. *Eutyches* and his Followers durst not say, *Jesus Christ* was not at the same time true *God* and true *Man*: but fond of that unity ill-understood, which they imagin'd in *Jesus Christ*, they would have both natures confounded in this union, and were pleased and gloried in removing by this means to a greater distance than all others (tho' it were even to excess) from *Nestorius*'s Heresy which divided the Son of God. Thus do men intangle, thus do they prepossess themselves, thus do the prepossessed, with blind determination, lead the van and draw after them the giddy vulgar, without being willing, or able to understand, as says the Apostle, *either what they*

1 Tim. 1. 7.

they ſay themſelves, [illegible] *they affirm* with ſuch aſſurance. This is what conſtitutes all opiniatrity; this is the pit all Hereticks fall into.

LIV. [illegible] Our Adverſaries frame to themſelves an object of infinite comfort in the Certainty they will needs ſuppoſe of their eternal ſalvation. Do not expect they ever will regard, with candid equity of attention, what may deprive them of this Certainty. If to maintain it they muſt be obliged to ſay, one is ſure not to die in ſin tho' he fall into it with malice prepenſe, nay, tho' he contract a [illegible] habit thereof; this they will ſay. If they muſt exaggerate, beyond meaſure, the text of St *Paul*, *The gifts and calling of God are without Repentance*, and ſay, God never takes away entirely, nor in ſubſtance, what he hath given; this they will ſay. Happen what will, what ever contradictions you may ſhew them, whatever inconſiſtency, what dreadful conſequence ſoever may reſult from their Doctrine: otherwiſe, [illegible] the promiſe of their Certainty and the Charms diſcover'd by them in the novelty of the thing, they muſt at laſt be forc'd to own, they were in the wrong, as to the point they had ſo warmly maintained of their *Repentance*, and the Church of *Rome*, ſo much cenſured and hated by them, was in the right.

Rom. xi. 29

But [illegible] Adverſaries, when they teach, [illegible] it a Truth which [illegible] Would to God [illegible] holy [illegible] the *A*[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] that [illegible] B[illegible] [illegible] all [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ſoul;

that, satisfied with this hope, they reject Certainty. The *Catholicks* infinuate admitted this Truth, and the holy Perseverance, which the Council of *Trent* will have us acknowledge as *God's special gift*, it will have us expect with confidence from his infinite bounty: and yet, because it rejects *Absolute* Certainty, the Synod condemns it, and accuses the *Remonstrants*, who likewise condemn'd this Certainty, of falling by this means into the doubts of *Popery*. Had the *Dogma* of absolute Certainty and *Inamissibility* raised as much horror in the Synod as so hideous a Doctrine should excite naturally in all minds, the Ministers that composed this assembly, would not have had mouths enough to proclaim throughout all the Universe, that the *Remonstrants*, the *Lutherans*, and the *Catholicks*, laying such a blasphemy to their charge, did calumniate them; and all *Europe* would have rung with their clamour; but on the contrary, so far were they from defending themselves against this *Certainty* and *Inamissibility* objected to them by the *Remonstrants*, that they define it expresly, and condemn the *Remonstrants* for denying it. When they think themselves calumniated, they are not at all sparing of their complaints. They complain, for instance, at the close of their Synod, that their enemies, and amongst the rest, the *Remonstrants*, accuse them *of making God the author of sin; and of the reprobation of men without any regard to sin; of making him principle the devil and the wicked with damnation, as all the prayers of the Church, and even Baptism itself, are not able to save them from it.* Why don't they complain, in like manner, they are wrongfully accused of admitting this same *Certainty* and *Inamissibility*. It's true, they say in this very place, they are accused *of [illegible]*

men with a carnal security, by affirming that no crime prejudices the salvation of the Elect, and that they may, with impunity, commit the most execrable. But is this a sufficient explanation from men that were ask'd a plain and direct answer? What, does it not suffice them then for an evasion, that they acknowledged crimes, for instance, *to put with both doubt and against the Holy Ghost* whatever it may be, which the Elect and true faithful never fall into? And if it was their sentiment that other crimes were equally incompatible with true Faith and the state of Grace, could they not have said as much in expreſs terms, whereas, in expreſs terms, they affert the contrary?

LVI. Concludes we therefore, that, of the three Articles wherein we have made the *Cavinian* Justification to consist, the two first which already were imbibated with the *Doctrine* of Faith, namely, absolute Certainty of Predestination, and the impossibility of totally finally Faith and Grace once received, are expreſly condemned in the Synod of *Dort*; and that the third Article, where the question is, whether a true Believer may at least for a while and during his continuance in sin, putting Grace and true Faith, altho' not expreſs'd in *Calvin's* *Doctrine* of Faith, is likewise declared condemning to *Calvin's* Doctrine and the spirit of the new *Reformation*.

LVII. One may judge of the sentiment of the whole Synod by reading the known'd *Petri du Moulin* Manifesto of *Dort*, allow'd by all the world, to be the most rigorous Decision of its time, and the most well suited to the Doctrine *Calvin's* and his staff *Gomarus*. He sent to *Dort* his sentiment on this matter, which was approved by the whole Synod, and printed in *Holland*. He declares, he had no

L. . .

leisure to handle all the questions: but lays down the whole Substance of the Synod's Doctrine when he decides, that none is justified but he that is glorified: whereby he condemns the *Arminians*, in that they teach, *there are men justified that lose the Faith, and are damn'd.* And still more clearly in these words: *Altho' the doubt of salvation enter sometimes into the minds of the true faithful, God nevertheless commands us in his word to have a Certainty thereof, and we must tend with all our might to this Certainty, whereat, we should not doubt, many do arrive; and whoever is assured of his salvation, is so, at the same time, that God will never abandon him, and that he shall thus persevere even to the end.* One cannot, more clearly, regard Doubting as a temptation and weakness, nor Certainty, as injoin'd by God's commandment. Thus the faithful are not assured that they shall not fall into the worst of crimes and continue in them a long while like *David*: but are nevertheless assured, *God never will abandon them, and that they shall persevere even to the end.* This is an abridgment of the Synod: accordingly, it was resolved by the assembly to return *Du Moulin* thanks for the very accurate judgment pass'd by him on this subject, and for his Assent to the Doctrine of the Synod.

Ibid. p. 291.
Ibid. 320.

Some would doubt whether this Certainty required by the Synod in every Believer for his Salvation, be a Certainty of Faith: but their doubt will cease, if they do but observe, that the Certainty in question, is always express'd by the word *Believe*, which in the Synod is taken no otherwise than for true Faith; to which add, that this certainty, according to the same Synod, is nothing else than the belief of the promises applied by each individual to himself and to his eternal

LVIII. Question whether the Certainty of Salvation be a Certainty of Faith.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

die; and on the other, *that they do not fall from the state of Justification.*

LXI. [illegible] and [illegible] fall [illegible] into aggravated crimes.

Nor must one persuade himself, they here confound Justification with Predestination: for on the contrary, 'tis what they distinguish most expressly; and say, that these faithful, plunged into crimes, not only are not fallen from their Predestination, which is true of all the Elect, but, *they are not fallen from the Faith*, nor from *that celestial seed of regeneration and these fundamental gifts, without which, spiritual life can in no wise subsist; inasmuch, that 'tis impossible the gifts of Charity and Faith should intirely be extinguished in their hearts. They do not intirely lose the Faith, Sanctity, Adoption: they abide in this universal Justification the which is Justification in its most proper sense, which no particular crime can exclude them from:* they abide in this Justification, *from which interior renovation and sanctification are inseparable*; in a word, they are Saints, who, if they died, would be damn'd.

Pr. Th. [illegible] *p.* 213. [illegible] 214. *Pr.* 215. *Ib. Th.* [illegible] *Ib. Th.* [illegible] *Ibid.* 214. 218.

LXII. What it was that remain'd in the habitual grace of grievous crimes. The Doctrine of [illegible] Faith [illegible] and justifying Faith.

They were extremely puzzled to explain, according to these principles, what it was that remain'd in the faithful that had run themselves into criminal disorders. Those of *Embden* were agreed, *actual Faith could not remain in them, and that it was inconsistent with the consent to grievous sins*, What they did not lose, *was habitual Faith, that*, said they, *which subsists in man whilst he sleeps, or drinks [illegible]*: but then, *this habitual Faith infused [illegible] preaching and the use of the Sacraments, [illegible] and justifying Faith*; whence they concluded that the faithful did not, for all these enormous crimes, lose *either Justice or the [illegible]*: and when they were ask'd whether it might not as well be said, they lost [illegible] *p.* 270

afterwards to recover them, as to say, they only lost *the feeling and [illegible] thereof*; they answer'd, the faithful ought not to be deprived of the comfort accruing to them from the impossibility of their ever being [illegible] *or the Holy Ghost*, [illegible] *against their conscience. For this*, said they, *is and is but a cold comfort to tell them, you have entirely lost Faith and the Holy Ghost, yet perhaps, God will also regenerate you again that you may be [illegible] to him.* Thus, what sins soever the Believer may give himself up to, contrary to his conscience, they are so favourable to him, that to comfort him, they are not satisfied with leaving him the hopes of a future return to the state of Grace; but he must also have the comfort of *Already* being in it, his crimes notwithstanding.

The question still remains, what did Faith and the *Holy Ghost* in these Believers thus abandon'd to sin, and whether or no they were altogether without action in them. It was answer'd, they were not without action; and the effect produced by them, for example in *David*, was, that he did not sin *whole and entire: Peccavit David, at non totus*; there being a certain sin which he did not commit. But if you urged so far as to ask, what could be [illegible] *man* [illegible], and the faithful are [illegible] guilty of; [illegible] answer'd, *it was not a particular fact of* [illegible] *against* [illegible], *but a [illegible] and universal* [illegible] *but* [illegible], [illegible] *Grace*. Thus, [illegible] are arrived to this ultimate [illegible] to [illegible] *sovereign apostasy*, you shall

have

have the comfort *of being holy, of being justified, and regenerated*, and of having *the Holy Ghost* dwelling in you.

LXIV. The opinion of those of *Bremen*. *Jud. Brem. de V. Art. n.* 32. 33. *p.* 254. 255.

Answerable to this is the sentiment of those of *Bremen*, when they say, that *those who are once truly regenerated, never wander to that degree as to stray intirely from God by an universal apostacy, so as to hate him as their enemy, to sin like the Devil with a studied malice, and to deprive themselves of heavenly gifts: wherefore they never lose absolutely God's Grace and Favour*; so that, they remain in this Grace and Favour, well regenerated, well justified, provided only they be not the declared enemies of God, and quite as wicked as the Devil.

LXV. Whether the Synod can be excused from these excesses. The unanimous consent of all the Opiners. *Sess.* CXXV. CXXX. & *passim*. *Acta.*

So great are these excesses that the *Protestants* are confounded at them; nay, there have been some *Catholicks* that could not persuade themselves the Synod was guilty of them. Nevertheless, here have you historically with the decrees of the Synod, the votes of the principal Opiners. And that there might be no doubt, in respect to those of all the rest, besides what is inserted in the Acts of the Synod, that every thing was there decided by the unanimous consent of all the voices not one excepted, I have expressly related the opinions, wherein, those that are willing to excuse the Synod of *Dort* find the greatest moderation.

LXVI. The [illegible] of the sanctity of all children descending from the faithful, and the consequence of this Doctrine.

Besides these important points, we see a fourth expressly decided in the Synod; and 'tis that of the sanctity of all children descending from the faithful. There have been different explanations of this Article in the Acts of the new *Reformation*. We have seen this sanctity of children formally establish'd in the *Catechism* of the *Calvinists* of *France*, and there it's said expressly, that all children of the faithful are sanctified, and

born in the *Covenant*: yet, we have seen the contrary in the agreement of those of *Geneva* with the [illegible], and the justification of Infants even baptized is there restrain'd to the predestinated alone. *Beza* seems to have follow'd this [illegible] above-cited opposition: but the Synod of [illegible] pronounces in favour of the sanctity of all children born of faithful parents, and [illegible] not the parents to doubt of their salvation; an Article from which we have seen it follow demonstratively, according to the principles of the Synod, that all the children of the faithful and all the posterity of their children to the end of time, should their race continue so long, are of the number of the predestinated.

IX. II. Whether all these Decisions which seem so authentick, be to certainly so essential in the new *Reformation*, as to deprive [illegible] and cut off from the Church all those that [illegible] them, we [illegible] to examine by setting forth the proceedings of the Council.

The not taking Lots, we therein, is a Petition [illegible] by the *Remonstrants*, representing to [illegible] they have been used, treated [illegible], and examined by the *Ministers* [illegible] Commissary and Partizans that [illegible] and to [illegible] ought to [illegible] in the Synod together with [illegible] as Judges, their Adversaries ought to be [illegible] no less than they: otherwise, they were [illegible] both Judges and Parties; the [illegible] of all proceedings in the Synod [illegible].

X. III. These were manifestly the same reasons for which all the *Protestants* had excepted against the Council of the *Calvinists*; for which the *Anglicans* in particular had opposed the Synod

of the *Ubiquitarians*, by whom they were condemn'd at *Jena*, as above seen. The *Remonstrants* did not fail to quote these examples. They insisted chiefly in complaints made against the Council of *Trent*, when all *Protestants* exclaim'd: *we will have a free Council; a Council we may be present at together with the rest; a Council that comes unbiassed; a Council that does not hold us for Hereticks; otherwise we should be judged by our adversaries.* We have seen that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* alledged the same reasons against the Synod of *Jena*. The *Remonstrants* found themselves in this very state when they beheld *Francis Gomar* and his adherents seated in the Council amongst their Judges, yet themselves excluded, and treated as guilty persons: this was prejudging against them before examining the cause; and these reasons seem'd to them so much the more convincing, as they were visibly the very same their Fathers had urged against the Council of *Trent*, as they set forth in their Petition.

After their Petition was read, it was declared to them, *the Synod thought it very strange that the accused should set laws to their Judges, and prescribe them rules; which was not only injuring the Synod, but also the States-General, by whom it was allow'd and authoriz'd to judge; wherefore they had no more to do but obey.*

LXIV. Their mouths are stopt by the authority of the States.

This was stopping their mouths with the authority of the secular power, but not answering their arguments, nor the example of their forefathers when they declined the judgment of the Council of *Trent*. And truly, little did they dwell on these considerations: the Deputies of the *States*, who were present at the Synod with the whole authority of their Superiors, judged the *Remonstrants* were not to be admitted plain-

tiffs, and order'd them to obey the regulations of the Synod, which, on its side, declared their propositions insolent, and their challenging the whole Synod as a Party in the cause, injurious, not only to the Synod itself, but also to the Supreme authority of the *States-General*.

LXX. The *Remonstrants* consider'd, change their Petitions into Protests against the Synod. These were debated on; and as the reasons alledg'd by them were the same with those the *Prelimitants* had used to elude the authority of the *Catholick* Bishops, the answers return'd them were the same that the *Catholick* had employ'd against the *Prelimitants*. They were told, that it never had been the custom of the *Church* to deprive Pastors of their right of suffrage against error on account that they had opposed them: that this would be divesting them of the prerogatives of their function for having faithfully discharg'd their duty, and subverting the whole oeconomy of Church judgments: that by the same reasons the *Arians*, the *Nestorians*, and the *Eutychians* might have excepted against the whole *Church*, and let themselves to Judge among *Christians*: that this would be the way to silence Pastors and give a free scope to all kind of Heresies. After all; what Judges would they have? Were not the Pastors, [illegible] the Pastors, [illegible] that [illegible] the way to quitting the Faith and Union of the Church? These arguments were [illegible] to our *Remonstrants*, [illegible] way [illegible] to which they divided the [illegible] Bishops, as guilty of arbitrary, at the time of [illegible].

What carried the general assembly [illegible] the Dutch [illegible] way [illegible]

innovators, and the least Party as well as the newest, which by consequence, ought to be judged *by the greatest, and the most ancient; by that which was in possession, and which maintain'd the Doctrine till then received.* But thereby the *Catholicks* did most evidently gain their cause; for after all, what antiquity did the *Dutch Reformed* Church alledge against the *Remonstrants?* We will not suffer, said she, any alteration to be made in the Doctrine we have constantly taught *these fifty years past*, for this was the utmost antiquity they could boast. If *fifty years* gave to this Church, that call'd herself *Reform'd*, so great a power against the *Arminians* newly crept out of her bosom, what ought to be the authority of the whole *Catholick* Church of so many ages standing?

the weaker and younger Party ought to yield to the greater and more ancient. *P.* 97. 103. &c.

Proceed. of Dordr. Syn. Dordr.

LXXII. The Synod perplexed at the Protest. of the Remonstrants.

Among all the answers made to the *Remonstrants* in relation to their Protest, what was the least taken notice of, was the comparison made by them betwixt their exceptions against the Synod of *Dort*, and those of the *Reformed* against the Councils of the *Catholicks*, and those of the *Lutherans*. Some of them said, *there was a great difference betwixt this, and the Councils of Papists and* Lutherans. *There you hear Men, the Pope and* Luther; *here you hear God. There Men are prepossessed; here not a Man to be found that is not ready to yield to the word of God. There you have Enemies to contend with; and here, not but Brethren. There every thing is forced; here, all is free.* This was solving the question by that which caused the difficulty. The question was whether the *Gomarists* did not come to the Synod prepossessed: the question was, whether they were enemies or brethren; the question was, which of them had the most docile hearts in regard to truth and the word of God:

[illegible]

[illegible] 1 Vol. 81 [illegible] 82 [illegible]

[illegible]

LVIII. [illegible]

very name of a Christian would not suffer such an answer. Neither did the *Lutherans* answer in this manner: on the contrary, they declared, and even at *Ausburg* in their own *Confession*, that they appeal'd to the Council, even that Council which the Pope was to assemble. There is a like declaration in the *Confession* of *Strasburg*; so that, both *Protestant* Parties were agreed in this point. They were not for breaking with us: they did not hate us; they did not despise us to that degree as did those of *Geneva*. If it be therefore true, according to them, that the *Remonstrants* ought to have submitted themselves to the Council of the *Reformation*, as they were averse to Schism; so the *Protestants*, who alike declared they would not separate from the *Catholick* Church, ought to have submitted to her Council.

We must not forget the Answer made by a whole Synod of the *Province* of *Holland* to the exceptions of the *Remonstrants*: 'twas the Synod held at *Delph*, a little before that of *Dort*. The *Remonstrants* objected that the Synod, which was to be convoken'd against them, would not be infallible like that of the Apostles, and consequently would not bind their consciences. This they must certainly have own'd, or denied all the principles of the *Reformation*; yet after owning it, those of *Delph* add those words: [illegible] with [illegible] they [illegible] a little [illegible] *Pastor* [illegible] according to *God's* [illegible]

in the Churches, one ought to perſuade himſelf with a firm confidence that Jeſus Chriſt would be with them according to his promiſe.

LXXVI. *Their recourſe to the Church Decrees.*

Here then you ſee them obliged to confeſs two promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that he will be preſent at, and direct the judgments of his Church. Now the *Catholicks* never had any other foundation than this to believe the Church *Infallible*. They make uſe of the firſt text in order to ſhew, he always is with her conſider'd in her whole. They make uſe of the ſecond to ſhew, we ought to hold for certain, he would be in the midſt of two or three, were we aſſured that they were truly aſſembled in the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Now what is doubtful in reſpect to two or three aſſembled in private, is certain, in regard to the whole *Church* aſſembled in body: we ought therefore to hold for certain, in ſuch caſe, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is there by his Spirit, and by that means her judgments are infallible; or let them tell us, what other uſe can be made of theſe texts in the caſe the Synod of *Dordt* applies them to.

LXXVII. [illegible]

It is true, the certain accomplishment of theſe promiſes is to be found in the body of the [illegible] Church and in her *Oecumenical* Council. Accordingly, 'twas to ſuch a Council the *Remonſtrants* had appeal'd. They were anſwer'd, [illegible] *Oecumenical* Council [illegible] *Church*; and in [illegible]

The reflexion we ought to make here is, that to ſpeak of an *Oecumenical* Council, was amongſt theſe new *Reformed*, a remainder of the Church's language. For what could this word mean in theſe upſtart Churches? They durſt not ſay, the Deputies of all the *Reformed* Churches were an *Oecumenical* Council repreſenting the *Univerſal* Church. It was, ſaid they, not an *Oecumenical* Council, but *like to an Oecumenical Council*. What then ſhould a true *Oecumenical* Council be compoſed of? Ought the *Lutherans* to be a part of it, who had excommunicated them? Or the *Catholicks*? Or, infine, ſome other Churches? 'Tis what the *Calviniſts* could not tell, and in the condition they had put themſelves by dividing from all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, the great name of an *Oecumenical* Council, ſo venerable among Chriſtians, was nothing to them but an inſignificant word, which had no idea in their mind correſponding to it. LXXVIII. The illuſion of this promiſe.

The laſt obſervation I have to make, as to the procedure, regards the *Confeſſions* of Faith and the *Catechiſms* received in the *United Provinces*. The *Provincial* Synods obliged the *Remonſtrants* to ſubſcribe them. Theſe refuſed it abſolutely, becauſe they believed there were principles in them from which the condemnation of their Doctrine might be clearly enough deduced. Upon this refuſal, they were treated as *Heretick*s and *Schiſmatics*; and this notwithſtanding it was agreed in the *Provincial* Synods, and expreſly declared in the Synod of *Dort*, that theſe *Confeſſions* of Faith, ſo far from paſſing for a certain rule, might be examin'd anew: ſo that, they obliged the *Remonſtrants* to ſubſcribe a Doctrine of *Faith*, even without believing it themſelves. LXXIX. Reſolution of the Synod, that the *Confeſſions* of Faith might be revised, and at the ſame time an obligation impoſed of ſubſcribing them. *Sam. Deſp. Ist. Abr. Dort. Synod. Acta. p. 61. Seſſ. XXXIII. 123.*

We have obſerved already, what is ſpecified in the Acts, that the *Canons* of the Synod againſt the LXXX. *Dort. Synod.*

the pretended Reformed of France at the Synod of Charenton.

the *Remonstrants* were established with the unanimous consent of all the voices, *one excepted*. The pretended *Reformed* of *France* were not allowed to go to *Dort* tho' invited, but received its Decisions in their national Synods, and in all the rest, in that all Calvinism in general was, and the *Canons* were received into *France*, and a subscription of them insisted in [illegible] *Synods*, [illegible] *Dordrecht* [illegible] *Synod* [illegible] *Charenton*: the Hatred of the Arminians against *Gallican* [illegible] *Men*, [illegible] *Pamphlet*, [illegible] *Paper*, [illegible] *Charenton* of *Saumur*. I note but words from a [illegible] which shew of most important [illegible] the Decisions of *Dordrecht*, and the Certainty of *Salvation* [illegible] as one of the most eminent characteristics of Calvinism.

I [illegible] the [illegible] the left thing [illegible] of our Ministers who had taken [illegible] in *Holland* [illegible] Contrary Religion, was to [illegible] the Synod of *Dort*; and [illegible] a number of [illegible] Acts, [illegible] to make it plain, [illegible] authentick [illegible] Party.

From the Decisions of Synod there [illegible] portance of the Decisions [illegible] the *Remonstrants* [illegible] declared by [illegible]

to suffer *any other Doctrine* to be taught *but that which was just defined, and to obstruct Heresies and errors that were creeping in*; which manifestly regards the *Arminian* Articles, by them qualified *as erroneous, and as the source of hidden errors.*

[illegible] p. 28.

LXXXIII. The Doctrine of *Dort* not essential. The sentiment of the Minister *Jurieu*. [illegible] p. 255. [illegible] p. 305.

All these things might make one think, these Articles were accounted very essential to *Religion*. Mr. *Jurieu*, nevertheless, assures us of the contrary: for after supposing, *the Church of* Rome *was in the sentiment of the* Arminians, *at least during the time of the Council of* Trent, he thus proceeds: *If she had no other errors, we should have done exceeding ill to separate from her: we ought to have borne with those for peace-sake, by reason that she was a Church whereof we made part, and which had not banded herself to maintain Grace according to St.* Austin's *system of divinity*, &c. And accordingly, 'tis this which makes him conclude, that the reason which made them *cut the* Remonstrants *off from their Communion was, for that they would not submit to a Doctrine, which, in the first place, we believed conformable to the word of God; which, in the second, we had bound ourselves, by a confederate Confession, to maintain and defend against the* Pelagianism *of the Church of* Rome.

LXXXIV.

Without assenting to his principles, or what he says of the Church of *Rome*, it suffices to relate his sentiments, which make him say in another place, that *the Church of the* Swiss *or the* Geneva-*Calvinists* [illegible] *exclude from the Communion a* Semi-pelagian, [illegible] *maintain the errors* [illegible] Remonstrants [illegible] *would not be their duty* [illegible] *have cann'd, as a* Semi-pelagianism [illegible] Therefore stands well [illegible] by the [illegible] of this Minister, that the Doctrine of the [illegible] *Remonstrants* may well exclude [illegible]

particular confederation of the pretended *Reformed* Churches, but not, in general, from the fellowship of God's children; the which shews, these Articles are not of the number of those, they call *fundamental*.

Lastly, the same Doctor, in his *judgment concerning* [illegible], where he labours at the re union of the *Lutherans* to their of his Communion, acknowledges, that *in order to stem a torrent of* Pelagianism *which was going to overflow the* Low-countries, the Synod of *Dort ought to oppose the rigidest and strictest method to this* Pelagian *relaxation*. He adds, that with this view *she might have imposed, on her Party, the necessity of maintaining St.* Austin's *method, and obliged, I don't say all the members of her Policy, but at least, all her Doctors, Preachers, and the rest concern'd in teaching, yet without laying other Churches and other Communions under the same obligation*. Whence results that the Synod, so far from binding all Christians to her tenets, does not even pretend to bind all her members, but only her *Preachers* and *Doctors*: which shews, what these grave Decisions of the new *Reformation* are in the main, when after so much boasting the express word of God, all terminates at last in obliging *Doctors* to teach, by common agreement, a Doctrine, which private men are neither obliged to believe, nor profess.

Jurieu Lettres Pastorales. Let. XVIII. p. 159. 160.

LXXXI. The truth is, that *Dogmata* were made *Dogmata* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Now can it be answer'd, that there are *Dogmata* which happen not to the knowledge of the people: for besides that all *Dogmata* revealed by God are made for the people as well as the rest, and there are certain cases wherein they are not allow'd to be ignorant of them; that which was carried at *Dort* canons, above all others, to be a stiff popular *Decree*, since it principally concerned that Certainty every body ought to

have-

have of his own Salvation: a *Dogma*, wherein the *Calvinists* laid the main foundation of the Christian Religion. S. n. 6.

LXXXVI. The Minister *Jurieu* makes the Synod of *Dort* act more by policy than truth.

All the rest of the Decisions of *Dort*, as you have seen, tending to this *Dogma* of Certainty, it was no question of idle speculation, but of practice, which they judged the most necessary and of the utmost consequence to Religion; and nevertheless Mr. *Jurieu* hath represented this Doctrine not so much as a capital *Dogma*, but as *a method* they were obliged to follow; and not as the most certain neither, but as being *the most rigid. In order to stem*, says he, *this torrent of* Pelagianism, *it was necessary to oppose against it the rigidest and strictest method*, and to decide, adds he, many things *to the prejudice of that liberty of disputing pro and con, which always had subsisted amongst the Reformed*: as if this were a political affair, or that other things were to be consider'd in Church-decisions than the pure truth revealed by God clearly and expressly in his word; or, after a full knowledge thereof, it were allowable to shift and decline from it, Ibid. p. 59.

LXXXVII. They were ready to bear with *Pelagianism* [illegible] the *Arminians* [illegible]

But what this Minister teaches in another place, is still more surprising, since he declares to the *Arminians*, that 'tis not properly *Arminianism*, but *Socinianism* which they reject in them. *These Remonstrants*, says he, *ought not to wonder, we offer peace to Sects that seem to be of the same mind with them in respect to the Synod of* Dort, *and do not offer it to them. Their* Semi-Socinianism *will ever be a wall of separation betwixt them and us.* Here then is what makes the separation. 'Tis because, *at this day*, proceeds he, *Socinianism is in the most elevated stations amongst them.* It's plainly seen, were it not for this obstacle, that they might unite with the *Arminians*, without concerning themselves for *the torrent of* Pelagianism

nism with which they overspread the Low-countries, nor for the Decisions of *Dort*, nor even for the Confederacy of all Calvinists in favour of the pretended sentiments of St. *Austin*.

Mr. *Jurieu* is not the only one that has revealed to us this secret of the Party. The Minister *Matthew Roldet* has assured us before him, that, *if the Remonstrants had only differed from the rest of the Calvinists in the two points decided at the Synod of Dort, the difference might have been agreed*: which he confirms with the opinions of other Doctors of the Sect, even with that of the Synod itself.

It is true, he says at the same time, that altho' they were disposed to tolerate, in particular persons, the moderate sentiments opposite to those of the Synod, they could not have suffer'd them in the Ministers who ought to be better instructed in the truth: but this, however, is enough to evince, that those Doctrines, which they expressly condemn'd Polygamy, altho' made by the Synod with so great solemnity and with such repeated declarations of their following nothing but the pure and express word of God, are not very material to Christianity: and what more surprising is, they had for several years publicly professed, after knowing full of what the Synod had decided, nay, as speaks Mr. *Jurieu*, and the Commissaries of Holland, *many of them were in Holland*, and believe, they are better able to understand what is found Doctrine, not only than any one of them in particular, but also, than all of them together.

It is also very certain, that the Doctrines, to whom opposite sentiments to those of the Synod were not to be tolerated, are exactly, the same that *Socinus*, *Pelagius*, and some other Heretics of the day, and amongst others Mr. *Limborch*, whom

we have seen at *Sedan* one of the most learned and practick of them all, soften as much as they are able the *Dogma* of *Inamissibility* of Justice, and even that of the Certainty of Salvation: and two reasons move them to it; the first is, the *Lutherans* dislike to it, whom they are willing to be united to at any rate: the second is, the absurdity and impiety discoverable in these tenets by never so little an inspection. The Doctors may, by degrees, inure themselves to them in consequence of the false principles they are imbued with; but plain and sincere people will not easily be persuaded, that every one of them, to have true Faith, must assure himself, he has no Damnation to fear, let him commit what crimes he pleases; much less, that he is sure of preserving Sanctity and Grace in such crimes.

As often as our *Reformed* disclaim these impious tenets, let us praise God for it, and without more disputing, intreat them only to consider, that the *Holy Ghost* could not have been in those that taught them, and who made a great part of the *Reformation* to consist in notions so derogatory to Christian Justice.

XCI. The Synod of *Dort* hath done no good, and [illegible] all [illegible] Mr. *Ja[illegible]* [illegible] *Pa[illegible]*

This however we may conclude from thence; that, after all, this great Synod has proved quite useless, and neither cured the people, nor even the Pastors, for whom it was principally intended, forasmuch as, what is call'd *Pelagianism* in the *Reformation* (the thing the Synod design'd to destroy) still stands its ground: for I ask, who hath been cured of this evil? Not those sure who do not believe the Synod; nor even those who do believe it, for, Mr. *Jurieu* for instance, who is of this last number, and seems to continue to stand in the Condemnation, as he calls it, of the *Calvinian* Churches against *Pelagianism*, at the bottom, does not disapprove

it, tho' he maintains, as we have seen, that it is not contrary to piety. He is like to those *Socinians*, who, ask'd if they believe the eternal *Divinity* of the Son of God, make no difficulty of answering, they believe it: but urged a little further, will tell you, the contrary belief, in the same, is neither opposite to piety nor true Faith. Such are true enemies to the Son of God's Divinity, since they hold the tenet for indifferent: Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian*, and the enemy of Grace, in the same sense.

In effect, what is the tendency of these words of his, *in the mean time, you must of necessity speak like a* Pelagian? This is not the speech of a Divine; for if *Pelagianism* be a Heresy, and a Heresy that evacuates the Cross of *Jesus Christ*, as hath been so much preach'd even by the *Reformation*, you cannot keep at too great a distance from it in exhortations, so far from retaining the least tincture of it.

This Minister is no less inconsistent when he excutes the *Pelagians* or *Semi-Pelagians* of the *Church of Africa* together with the *Arminians* [illegible], under pretext that, [illegible] Pelagians [illegible] Austin [illegible] *Prosper*, [illegible] that a person [illegible] Men must [illegible] when even [illegible] Communion. [illegible] *Pelagians* [illegible] Divine, [illegible] more [illegible] Have at, [illegible]

He alſo thinks he has kept clear from that blaſphemy which makes God the Author of ſin, into which, he pretends, none of his Party hath fallen *for this hundred years*, and he himſelf relapſes into it in that very Book where he pretends to ſhew, they are no longer guilty of it. For when all is ſaid, whilſt you continue to deprive mankind of the liberty of their choice, and believe that *Free-will* ſubſiſts together with an intire and inevitable neceſſity; it always will be true that neither Men, nor prevaricating Angels, could avoid ſinning; and ſo the ſins they fell into, are the neceſſary conſequence reſulking from thoſe diſpoſitions their Creator placed them in. Now Mr. *Jurieu* is one of thoſe who leave this inevitable neceſſity whole and intire, when he ſays, we know nothing of our ſoul, *only that ſhe thinks*, nor can we define what is requiſite *to conſtitute her free*. He owns therefore, he does not know but 'tis this inevitable neceſſity which drags us into evil as well as good, and by that means ſinks into all the exceſſes of the firſt *Reformers*, which he brags his Party has been exempt from, a whole age.

XIII. The Miniſter falls back into the exceſſes of the *Reformers* relating to the cauſe of ſin. *S. n. 6.*

Ibid. 129. 132.

To avoid theſe terrible inconveniences, you muſt at leaſt believe, if not arrived to the comprehenſion of it, that there is no admitting, without blaſphemy and making God the Author of ſin, this invincible neceſſity which the *Remonſtrants* reproach'd the pretended *Reformers* with, and from which the Synod of *Dort* hath not juſtified them.

And in reality, I obſerve that nothing is ſaid in any part of the Synod's Decrees against those damnable excesses. It was without doubt to spare the *Reformers*, and ſave the beginning of the *Reformation* from eternal infamy.

XIV. [illegible]

[illegible] ought [illegible] to have extended the like condemnation to the *Remonstrants*, who opposed to the excesses of the *Reformers*, other no less criminal excesses.

They printed in *Holland* in 1618, a little before the Synod, a Book under this title: *The state of controversy in the Low countries*, where is shewn, it was the Doctrine of the *Remonstrants* that certain accidents might befal God; that he was liable to change; that his Prescience of particular events was not certain; that he proceeded by uncertain conjecture in drawing, as we do, one thing from another, and other the like monstrous errors, wherein the Author sides with those Philosophers who deny God's Fore-knowledge, for fear of hurting the liberty of Man. [illegible] appear, they went so far astray as to speak [illegible] to attribute to him [illegible] and [illegible] that may be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to prepare, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] many [illegible] *Remonstrants*. The whole care [illegible]

[illegible]

lowing the Confession of Ausburg, *for so much as the Churches of the* Ausburg-*Confession agree with the others that are reformed in the fundamental principles and tenets of the true Religion, and that in their worship, there is neither Idolatry nor Superstition, may, without making abjuration, be received to the holy table, to contract marriage with the faithful of our Confession, and to present, as God-fathers, children to Baptism, in promising the Consistory, they will never solicit them to act counter, directly, or indirectly, to the Doctrine received and professed in our Churches, but will be contented with instructing them in the principles wherein we all agree.*

XCVI. The consequences of this Decree.

In consequence of this Decree, they were obliged to say, that the Doctrine of the *Real Presence*, taken in itself, *hath no venom in it: that it is neither contrary to piety, nor God's honour, nor the good of mankind: that altho' the opinion of the* Lutherans *relating to the Eucharist infers, no less than that of* Rome, *the destruction of Jesus Christ's humanity, this consequence nevertheless cannot be imputed to them without calumny, inasmuch as, 'tis formally rejected by them,* so that it's an allow'd maxim, that in matters of Religion, none ought to charge on others the consequences they draw from their Doctrine, but only such things as they allow in express terms.

XCVII. The Calvinists had never advanced so far.

Never had the *Sacramentarians*, before this time, taken so great a step towards the *Lutherans*. The novelty of this Decree does not consist in saying, that the *Real Presence* and the other disputed points betwixt both Parties, do not regard the *fundamentals* of Salvation; for it must be own'd ingenuously, that ever since the time of the Conference of *Marpurg*, that is, so long ago as the year 1529, the *Zwinglians* offer'd the *Lutherans* to hold them for Brethren notwith-

ſtanding their Doctrine of the *Real Preſence*; and never, from that time, did they believe it *Sacramental*, but required that the Fraternity ſhould be mutual and own'd equally on both ſides; which being refuſed them by *Luther*, they likewiſe continued to down thoſe for Brethren, who were to ſcorn to pass the ſame judgment in their favour: whereas, in the Synod of *Charenton*, 'tis the *Sacramentarians* alone that receive the *Lutheran* into that fellowship, notwithſtanding that they are held by them for excommunicated.

SECT. III. The date of this Decree is remarkable: it was made in 1631, when the great *Gustavus* was thundering in *Germany*, and when currently believed throughout the whole *Reformation*, that *Rome* itſelf would be soon in the power of the *Ladrians*. God had otherwiſe ordain'd: the year following, the victorious king was laid at the battle of *Lutzen*, and all the rare discoveries made concerning him in the prophecies were utterly frustrated.

Many of the Decrees paſſ'd, and the *Cath*[illegible] declared the general charity unalterable in the Doctrine of the *Protestants*.

[illegible] the horror they had in [illegible] the Doctrine of the [illegible] approv'd [illegible] and [illegible] the Doctrine [illegible] they [illegible] the [illegible] people [illegible] bloody [illegible] the Doctrine [illegible] repeated to them, [illegible] brutal [illegible] warmth [illegible] Blood, [illegible] God. [illegible] the Doctrine of the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] filly

filly vulgar were fascinated with so long a time, are calumnies, and the Doctrine that was made to pass for so impious and inhuman, has no longer any thing in it that is contrary to piety.

Thereby even it becomes the most credible, and the most necessary; for the chief reason inducing to wrest the sense of these words, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood*, and also of these, *Eat, this is my Body; drink, this is my Blood*, to spiritual and metaphorical meanings was, because they seem'd to lead to sin by commanding to eat human Flesh, and to drink human Blood: so that St. *Austin*'s rule, of interpreting spiritually what appears to incline to evil, was here to take place. But at present, this reason carries no longer any the least probability; all this imaginary crime is vanish'd, and nothing prevents taking the words of our Saviour in their true *literal* sense.

[illegible] the Real Presence, [illegible] St. Matth. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.

The people were made to abhor the *Catholick* Doctrine as a Doctrine that destroyed *Jesus Christ's* human nature, and ruin'd the mystery of his *Ascension*. But they must no longer be affrighted at these consequences, since the denial of them sufficiently acquits whosoever denies them.

CI. *The chief reason [illegible] of the Doctrine [illegible] Real Presence.*

These horrors thus raised in the minds of the people were, to speak the truth, the real cause of their departure from the Church. Read in all the Acts of the pretended Martyrs the cause for which they suffer'd, and you'll find every where, 'twas for the Doctrine opposite to the *Real Presence*. Consult a *Mornay*, a *Sarnius*, a *Pezier*, all the rest that were against condemning the Doctrine of the *Zuingrians*: you'll find their chief reason to be, because 'twas for this Doctrine that such a number of the faithful laid down their lives in *France* and *Flanders*.

land. Those wretched Martyrs perſuaded themſelves, in dying for this Doctrine, they died for a fundamental point of Faith and piety: at preſent this Doctrine is innocent, and excludes none from the ſacred [illegible], nor from the Kingdom of heaven.

CII. [illegible]

To preſerve in the hearts of the people their averſion to the Calviniſts Doctrine, it was requiſite to alter [illegible] object: [illegible] the *Real Preſence*; *Tranſubſtantiation* is now the great crime: there's now no manner of difficulty in admitting *Jeſus Chriſt* really preſent, in admitting one and the ſame Body in different places at once, in admitting the intire Body in every crumb of Bread: the grand error conſiſts in taking the Bread away: what regards *Jeſus Chriſt* is of ſmall importance: what regards the Bread is alone eſſential.

CIII. [illegible]

All the maxims, till then held for unqueſtionable, touching the adoration of *Jeſus Chriſt*, are now changed. *Calvin* and the reſt of them held formerly, that wherever *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſo adorable an object, was held preſent by ſo ſpecial a Preſence as that acknowledged in the *Eucharist*, it was not lawful [illegible] with [illegible] But now, *Jeſus Chriſt's* Preſence in any place, is not enough to [illegible] him; he muſt [illegible] it, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mat:

your own eyes, you owe him no respect, or at least, he must declare expressly, 'tis his intention to be honour'd; otherwise you should behave as in his absence. Were it the case of an earthly King, none would question paying him what is his due the moment it is known where he is: but thus to honour the King of heaven would be Idolatry, and it would be to be fear'd, lest he should take the worship as given to another than himself.

CIV. Interior act of adoration are retained in the *Lutheran*, and the exterior, which are but the signs of them rejected.

But here is a device that is new and surprising. The *Lutheran*, who believes *Jesus Christ* present, shall receive him as his God: shall put his trust in him, shall invocate him; and the Synod of *Charenton* decides, *there is neither Idolatry, nor Superstition in his worship*: but if he make any perceptible act of adoration, he idolizes, that is to say, it's allowable to have the Substance of adoration, which is the interior sentiment; but not allowable to testify it, and you become an Idolater in making appear, by some posture of respect, the sense of that truly sacred veneration you have in your heart.

CV. Different answers from Jay.

But the reason of this is, say they, because, should the *Lutheran* adore *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist*, who is there together with the Bread, there would be danger, lest the adoration should be referr'd to the Bread alike as to *Jesus Christ*; or however, lest some should think, the intention was to refer it so: no question, when the *wise men* adored *Jesus Christ*, either in his crib, or in a cradle, it was to be fear'd, lest they should worship, together with *Jesus Christ*, either the crib, or the cradle; or mine, lest the *Blessed Virgin* and St. *Joseph* should take them for worshippers of the cradle rather than of the divine Infant lying in it. These were the subtleties introduced by the Decree of *Charenton*.

Moreover,

CVI. Moreover, the Doctrine of *Unity* which had been accounted, and with reason, alike by the *Communicants* and by *Catechists*, a most [illegible] contradicting both Natures of *J[illegible]*, becomes the Doctrine of the Saints.

For you are to [illegible] that the defenders of this Doctrine were excepted out of the union: the [illegible] of the *Communion*, wherein, [illegible] well known, the [illegible] *Unity* hath nothing moral in it, tho' it destroys, more exactly, than ever *Eutychianism* did, the human Nature of our Lord.

CVII. In a word, little account is made of all whatsoever causes no alteration in the worship, even in the external worship: for the belief, which you may have internally, is no obstacle to Communion; nothing but the respect you shew *externally* makes the sin; and this is what we are brought to by those who are always preaching to us adoration in *Spirit* and in *Truth*.

CVIII. It plainly appears, without needing my intimation, that after the Sense of *Communion*, neither the *Inexpressibility* of Justice, nor the *Certainty* of Salvation, are any longer a necessary foundation of piety, since the *Lutherans* are admitted to Communion with the contrary Doctrine.

No more must they speak to us of *Absolute* Predestination and *Absolute* Decrees as of a *Fundamental* Article, since they can't deny, accor[illegible] Mr. [illegible] that [illegible] *Communicants of Predestination* [illegible] *Faith* [illegible], are [illegible] In the Mr. [illegible], that [illegible] of [illegible] *Christ*.

This

Thus the Decree of Predestination will not be an absolute Decree and independent of all foreknowledge, but a *conditional Decree*, including the condition of our future Faith; and 'tis what Mr. *Jurieu* does not condemn.

But here are the two most remarkable novelties which the Decree of *Charenton* hath introduced into the pretended *Reformation*: first the dispute on *fundamental* points, and secondly, the dispute on the nature of the *Church*.

As to *fundamental* points, the *Catholicks* thus argued with them. If the *Real Presence*, if *Ubiquity*, if so many other important points, contested more than an age betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, be not *fundamental*, why should those be more so, on which you dispute with the Church of *Rome*? Does not she believe the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, the whole *Creed*? Hath she laid any other foundation than *Jesus Christ*? All you object against her, on this head, in order to shew she hath another, are so many consequences which she denies, and which, according to your own principles, ought not to be imputed to her. Wherein then do you place precisely, what is *fundamental* in *Religion*? To relate here all they have said concerning *fundamental* points, some one way, some another, and the greatest part confessing that it's all a mystery to them, and a thing rather to be felt than explain'd, were an endless task, and involving ones self with them in a labyrinth from whence there is no exit.

CXI. Distinction of fundamental point, and the inevitable perpetuity of our *Reformed*.

The other dispute was not less important: for this principle being once establish'd by them, that those who retain the principal *foundations* of Faith, however separated in Communion, are in the main, the same Church and the same Society of God's children worthy of his holy table

CXII. [illegible] the Church of *Rome* [illegible]

table and his Kingdom: the *Catholick* demand, how they can be [illegible] from this Church and from eternal Salvation? But now it will no longer serve their turn to say, that Church of *Rome* is a Church excluding the whole world, and which the whole world ought to exclude: for yet the *Lutherans*, who exclude [illegible], are not excluded. 'Tis this which has produced this [illegible] of the Church within itself to great a [illegible], and wherein, after all, they cannot but comprehend the Church of *Rome*.

CXIII. The *Protestants* of *Germany* have not been in all [illegible] in regard of the *Catholick* [illegible]. In 1601, a Conference was held at *Cassel* betwixt the *Calvinists* of *Hessen*, and the *Lutherans* of *Rotell*, where both Parties entered into a brotherly fellowship. I own, this union was without consequence in the other parts of *Germany*, and I have not been able to discover what [illegible] was the consequence of it betwixt the contracting Parties: but in the agreement there was one important Article not to be forgotten.

The *Calvinists* reproached the *Lutherans*, that in the celebration of the *Eucharist* they omitted the breaking of the Bread which had a Divine [illegible]. 'Tis the current Doctrine of *Calvinists*, that the [illegible] part of the Sacrament [illegible] Symbol of that Body broken [illegible] would give to his Disciples [illegible] by *Christ* [illegible] by our [illegible] by the *Calvinists* of *Hessen* [illegible] by the *Lutherans* of *Rotell*, [illegible]

ment, as being necessary thereto by the example and commandment of Jesus Christ: so that the Lutherans, *without breaking the Bread, had in strictness the Substance of the Supper, and both Parties might mutually tolerate each other.*

A Minister, who answer'd a Treatise concerning Communion under both Kinds, hath examin'd this Conference which was objected against them: the fact pass'd for unquestionable, and the Minister agreed that the *breaking* of the Bread, altho' commanded by *Jesus Christ*, did not appertain to the *Essence*, but only to the *Integrity* of the Sacrament. Here then have we the *Essence* of the Sacrament manifestly separated from the *Divine* Precept, and reasons have been found to dispense with that which they said was commanded by *Jesus Christ*: after which, I do not see how they can urge the Precept of receiving under *both Kinds*, forasmuch as, tho' we were agreed, *Jesus Christ* had commanded the receiving of them, we should still be admitted to examine, whether this Divine commandment regarded the *Essence* or only the *Integrity*.

CXV. Demonstration in favour of Communion under one kind. [illegible]

The present state of controversies in *Germany* betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* may be likewise seen in the same Conference; where will be perceived, that the constant Doctrine of the Divines of the *Ausburg-Confession* is, that Grace is universal; that it is *resistible*; that it is *amissible*; that Predestination is conditional, and presupposes the fore-knowledge of our Faith; lastly, that the Grace of Conversion is annexed to an action purely natural, and depending on our own strength, namely, on our carefulness to hear Sermons: which the learned [illegible] confirms by many testimonies, to which we could add many others, were not the things past dispute, as might have been seen by the testimony of

CXVI. Present state of controversies in Germany. [illegible]

of Mr. *Jurieu*, and had we not spoken of this many [illegible] ly.

CXVII. The [illegible] of the [illegible] of the *Lutherans* give occasion to the [illegible] Calvinists [illegible] disciples teaching universal Grace. [illegible] *Jurieu* [illegible] *Calvinists* [illegible]

According ly, one may have seen in this History, how *Melanchthon* had fomented, among the *Lutherans*, that extream rigour wherewith *Luther* maintain'd absolute and particular Decrees, and how unanimously it is taught amongst them, that God wills seriously and sincerely the Salvation of all Men; that he offers them *Jesus Christ* as their Redeemer; that he calls them to him by preaching and the promises of his Gospel, and that his Spirit is ever ready to be efficacious in them, if they do but hearken to his word: that finally, 'tis attributing to God two contrary Wills, to say on one side, he proposes his Gospel to all mankind; and on the other, that he will save but a very small number of them. In consequence of that [illegible] still continued in behalf of the *Lutherans*, [illegible] Master and Protector of Divinity [illegible] Sense, [illegible] Grace, [illegible] behalf of all [illegible] the wonders of God's work, [illegible] the Sacraments. The [illegible] Decrees [illegible] Decrees [illegible]

a Preface very much to the advantage of the abettors of this sentiment; and *Universal* Grace triumph'd even in *Sedan*, where the Minister *Beaulieu* taught it in our days.

CXVIII. Whether universal Grace be contrary to the Synod of *Dort*.

It had not equal success out of this kingdom, chiefly in *Holland*, where 'twas judged opposite to the Synod of *Dort*. But on the contrary, *Blondel* and *Daille* shew'd, that the Divines of *Great-Britain* and *Bremen* had maintain'd in the Synod *an universal will and intention* of saving all mankind, *a sufficient* Grace given to all; a Grace *without which* one could not renew in himself God's image. 'Tis what these Divines had publickly declared in the Synod, nor merited the less for it the praises and congratulations of this whole assembly.

Dall. Apol. tract. 2. p. Blond. Ad. antib. VIII. & seq. p. 77. Jud. The. Mag. Brit. de Art. 2. inter. Act. Syn. Dort. 2. p. p. 287. Jud. Brem. Ibid. p. 113 & seq.

Geneva, ever attach'd to *Calvin*'s rigorous propositions, was very averse to this *Universality*, which nevertheless was carried into its very bowels by the *French* Minister. Every family was now in contention for, or against it, when the *Magistrate* interposed. From the Court of *twenty five*, it was carried to that of the *two hundred*. These Magistrates had the face to make their Pastors and Professors enter into dispute before them, and set themselves up as Judges in a question of the most nice Theology. Powerful recommendations came from the *Synods* in behalf of particular Grace against *Universal* Grace: a rigorous Decree was issued in condemnation of the latter. They publish'd the Formulary of a Divine which the *Synods* had approved, wherein the system of *Universal* Grace was declared *not a little remote from the Sound Doctrine received in Scripture*; and that nothing might be wanting to it, the sovereign *Magistrate* commanded *Divines*, *Ministers* and *Professors* to subscribe the Formulary in these words: *We believe*; *&c.*

CXIX. Decree passed against universal Grace, and the Formulary tendered by the Magistrate. *Dort. Act. Synod. Formulary. Ibid. p. 113 & seq.*

[illegible] This is no submission of polity and order; 'tis a pure Act of Force [illegible] by the [illegible] authority: this is what the [illegible] aim at, subjecting the Church to the World, Learning to Ignorance, and Faith to the Magistrate.

CXX. Their [illegible] Secretary had also another clause, whereas, not concerning themselves with the [illegible], nor the *Original*, nor the original [illegible], nor with any of the old Interpreters, nor any of the ancient [illegible] they canonized even the points of the *Hebrew* text, such as we now have it, declaring it untainted with any even the least faults or the transcriber, and clear from all injuries of time. The Authors of this Decree are not [illegible] how generally they expose [illegible] to the [illegible] of all [illegible] Commentators, but any [illegible] of [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] Party, and by [illegible] such as it is at this time [illegible] of the [illegible] CXXI. [illegible] *Kings*.

[illegible] Day of [illegible]

all those, who should refuse to subscribe these two new articles of Faith, should be excluded and deposed from the Ministry and all Ecclesiastical functions.

This Decision was judged very odd even in the Party, and *Turretin*, Minister and Professor at *Geneva*, was greatly upbraided for it by Mr. *Claude*, as appears by a Letter of this Minister dated the twentieth of *June*, 1675, which *Lewis Du Moulin*, Son to the Minister *Peter Du Moulin*, and Uncle to the Minister *Jurieu*, caused to be printed.

Mr. *Claude* complains in this Letter, that the *Synods* were solicited to *draw up a Formulary* conformable to that of *Geneva*, *containing the same points and the same repetitions, in order to be added to their Confession of Faith*: and it's plain from a remark of *Du Moulin* inserted in the same Letter, that the *Synods* had in fact *struck this stroke*, which Mr. *Claude* judged *so terrible*.

Nevertheless, the same Minister maintains, it is not lawful to add *thus, new articles of Faith to those of his Confession*; *and that it's dangerous to remove the ancient landmarks which have been set by our Fathers*. I would to God our *Reformed* had always had before their eyes this maxim of the wise man, which they so frequently are obliged to return to, in order to terminate the divisions they are daily breeding in the midst of them! Mr. *Claude* proposes it to those of *Geneva*, and is astonish'd that this Church *should thus make new articles of Faith and new laws of speaking*: he makes bold to say, that acting in this manner, is setting up Gods of their own, and breaking Unity with all the Churches which are not of their own opinion: to wit, *with those of* France, *with those of* England, *with those of* Poland, *of* Prussia *and* Germany; that the matter

Ibid. p. 95.

P. 101.

Ibid. p. 15.

Prov. xxii. 28.

Ibid. p.

Ibid.

Ibid.

in hand is not of meer discipline in which Churches may be allow'd to vary, but that it is separating themselves, in *points of Doctrine unalterable in their nature*, which *they cannot, with a good conscience, much differ from*: so that, this is not only *setting up for it makes a particular ministry*, but also, *sowing the seeds of a fatal division* in Faith itself, and in short, *shutting their hearts against other Churches*.

If now one should be desirous to know, to what pitch *Geneva* stretch'd her rigour, he will be informed from the same Letter; for it specifies that *the signing of the articles was exacted with an inconceivable severity; and exacted even from those who were in Geneva to be ordain'd with the difference of subscribe*; *that the same necessity was not laid on them, as on those of Geneva*; *that it was exacted with the same severity as Papists already converted, who had already given old in the doctrine of worship*; and that, say Mr. *Claude*, is, *as we have shewed, exactly every where the Case of those who are at different ignorance*, namely, from all the rest of the Churches, and *exhorted their people, as being highly mainstain'd an equal grace with people, cannot allow them to be in the same case*.

Whatever were the offices the Church of *Geneva* did form, not to than that of the *State*, but even those in the *Church* that their consciences were *guided* from the word of God, and a full conviction to make appear, that the *Church* of the *Hugonots*, by their own confession, *supposes* worship to, and they have no other power, whereby to [illegible] their Ministers, [illegible] than a political and external union, such as subsists with those of *Geneva*,

Geneva, who in the main have broken off from all the rest; and in order to find something fix'd, it is necessary, after Mr. *Claude*'s example, they should be brought back to this maxim of the wise man, *not to remove the land-marks set them by their fore fathers*; namely, they must hold to the Decisions already made by those in matters of Faith.

Prov. xxii. 28.

CXXII. The Test-Act in *England*: wherein the *English* approach to our sentiment, and only, tho' manifest error, condemn the Church of Rome. 21 Car. II. c. 2. A.D. 1673.

The famous *Test* well deserves a place in this History, forasmuch as it was one of the principal Acts of Religion in *England*. The *Parliament* held at *London* in 1673, pass'd an Act enjoining the following declaration. *I* A. B. *do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the Consecration by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the* Virgin Mary, *or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of* Rome, *are superstitious and idolatrous*, &c. The particulars to be observed in this *Profession* of Faith are, first, that it only attacks *Transubstantiation* and not the *Real* Presence, wherein it follows the amendment which *Elizabeth* had made in *Edward* the sixth's Reformation. There are only added to it these words, *at or after the Consecration*, which manifestly allow the belief of the *Real* Presence before the manducation, since they exclude nothing, as is plain, but the sole change of *Substance*.

Thus, a good *English* Protestant, without blemish to his Religion or Conscience, may believe that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are *Really* and *Substantially* present in the Bread and Wine immediately after Consecration. Did

the *Lutherans* believe as much, 'tis certain, they would atone him. Neither do the *Lutherans* any wise obtrude it in their *Tenets*: and as they receive the *Eucharist* [illegible], nothing hinders their acknowledging and worshipping *Jesus Christ* there present, in the same sense that we do: after this, to cavil with us about *Transubstantiation*, is a proceeding, [illegible] worthy of them.

In the following words of the *Act*, the *Invocation*, or as they call it, the *Intercession* of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, with the *Sacrifice* of the Mass, are condemn'd as Acts of *Superstition and Idolatry*: not absolutely, but *as they are now paid in the Church of* Rome. But the reason of this was, that the *Lutherans* are too well verfed in antiquity to be ignorant, that the Fathers of the fourth Century (to afcend no higher at present) did invocate the *Blessed Virgin* and the *Saints*. They know that St. Gregory of Nazianzum approves expresly, in the mouth of a *Martyr*, that pray which moved him to love of the Blessed Virgin, *that* [illegible] *a Virgin* [illegible] *an Angel*. They know that [illegible] Fathers have made, and actually [illegible] in their Homilies, the [illegible] to Saints, [illegible] of them, have [illegible] *Intercessors*. Nay, [illegible] *Intercessors*, [illegible] it is opposed to [illegible] [illegible] not disdain to con- [illegible] Cadaver, and that her too great a [illegible] to

accuſe her of *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*: 'tis this which makes them uſe this reſtriction, which we obſerve in their *Teſt*, and ſuppoſe, in the Church of *Rome*, a kind of *Invocation* and *Adoration* different from that of the Fathers, becauſe they were very ſenſible, without this precaution, the *Teſt* would be no more ſubſcribed with a good conſcience by the learned *Proteſtants* than by *Catholicks*.

Nevertheleſs it is certain, as to the fact, that we demand nothing of the Saints, but the partnerſhip of their prayers, no more than the ancients did; and that we honour nothing in their Relicks, but what they honour'd in them. If we ſometimes intreat the *Saints*, not to pray, but to give and act; the learned among the *Engliſh* will agree, the ancients have done it like us, and like us have underſtood it in that ſenſe which attributes favours received, not only to the Sovereign that diſtributes them, but alſo to the Interceſſors who obtain them; ſo that there never will be found any real difference betwixt the ancients, whom the *Engliſh* will not condemn, and us, whom they do condemn, but thro' miſtake, and by laying to our charge what we don't believe.

I ſay the ſame of the *Sacrifice* of Maſs. The *Engliſh* are better skill'd in antiquity than to be ignorant that in all times, the ſame gifts were offer'd to God, in the ſacred *Myſteries* and the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, as were afterwards diſtributed to the people, and that theſe were offer'd to him no leſs for the *Dead* than for the *Living*. The ancient *Liturgies* containing the form of this *Oblation*, as well in the *Eaſt* as *Weſt*, are in every bodies hands, and the *Engliſh* are far from accuſing them either of *Superſtition* or *Idolatry*. There is then a way of offering to

God the *Unbloody* Sacrifice for the *Living* and the *Dead*, which the Protestant Church of *England* judges neither *Superstitious* nor *Idolatrous*; and if they reject the *Roman* Mass, 'tis by supposing that it is different from that of the ancients.

But this difference is none at all: one drop of water is not more like another, than the *Roman* Mass is like, as to its essence and substance, to the *Mass* which the *Greeks* and the rest of Christians received from their forefathers. For which reason the Church of *Rome*, when she admits them to her Communion, does not publish another *Mass* to them. Thus the *Roman* Church has not, in the mass, a more Sacrifice than that, which by the *Antient* Protestants own Confession, was offer'd in the *Eastern* and *West* ever since the beginning of Christianity.

Hence arises manifestly that the *Roman* Doctrine, as well concerning *Transubstantiation* and *Adoration*, as the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, is no otherwise concerned in the *Text*, than by presupposing that *Rome* receives the *Elements* in another sense, and performs them in another spirit, than that of the *Eastern*, which usually is not so: so that, really and without adding further reflexion, we may say, that *Transubstantiation*, the *Text* would be not reconcile but *Aggravating* a notorious calumny fix'd on the Church of *Rome*.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

VARIATIONS

Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BOOK XV.

VARIATIONS *in the Articles of the* CREED: I believe the Holy Catholick Church. *The unshaken steddiness of the Church of* ROME.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

An account of the Variations relating to the subject of the Church. She is naturally own'd to be Visible. *The difficulty of showing where the Church was, forced men upon the device of an* Invisible *one. The perpetual* Visibility *of it necessarily confessed. Divers means of saving the* Reformation *under this supposition. The state of the question, as, by the disputes of the Ministers* Claude *and* Jurieu, *it stands at present. They are at length forced to own that salvation may be still had in the Church of* Rome, *as well as before the pretended* Reformation. *Strange Variations, and the* Confessions *of Faith despised. Advantages yielded to* Catholicks *on*

the [illegible] *foundation of* Jesus Christ's *pro-
mise in favour of perpetual* Visibility. *The
Church believ'd to be* Infallible. *Her sentiments
acknowledg'd to be an* Infallible *rule of Faith.
This* [illegible]. *All these points, except the*
infallible *authority of the Church,* [illegible]
[illegible] *the* [illegible] [illegible] *and* [illegible]
[illegible] *of the* Catholick *Doctrine* [illegible] *regard
to the Church. The* Reformation [illegible]
[illegible] *supposing that* [illegible]
[illegible] *the* Scriptures. [illegible]
[illegible] Church *and* [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
the [illegible] *of the* Catholicks. [illegible]
[illegible] *of the* Catholick Church
[illegible] *of the* Protestant Church [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible].

AS I have observed, the [illegible] [illegible] man's [illegible] [illegible] apply [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *P*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] may be [illegible] [illegible]

this, Hereticks, either curious or ignorant, have been bewilder'd in the mazes of human reasoning, abandoned to their resentments, to their particular passions; the very reason they did not walk groping even in their *Confessions* of Faith, and could not shun falling under the two inconveniences specified by St. *Paul* concerning false teachers; one of which is *to be condemn'd by their own judgment*; and the other, *to be ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

This original cause of the pretended *Reformation*'s instability hath appear'd thro' the whole series of this work: but it's time to observe it with particular attention, by shewing, in the contrary sentiments of our separated Brethren, relating to the article of the *Church*, the Variations which have caused all the rest: after that, we shall finish this discourse, by making appear a quite contrary procedure in the *Catholick* Church, which from well knowing what she was thro' the Grace of *Christ Jesus*, hath always so well deliver'd herself at the very first in all questions that arose, in order to ascertain the Faith of Christians, that there never happen'd a necessity, I don't say of varying, but of deliberating a-new, or of departing in the least tittle from the first plan.

The Doctrine of the *Catholick* Church consists in four points whose connexion is inviolable: the *first*, that the Church is *visible*; the *second*, that she is perpetual; the *third*, that the truth of the Gospel is always professed therein by the whole Society; the *fourth*, that it's unlawful to depart from her Doctrine: which is as much as to say in other terms, that she is *infallible*.

The first point is grounded on a certain fact: which is, that the word *Church* always signifies in

in Scripture, and therefore in the common language of the faithful, a *visible* Society: *Catholics* take this for granted, and necessary it was for *Protestants*, to assent to it, as will appear hereafter.

The second point, that the *Church* is perpetual, is not less certain, it being grounded on *Jesus Christ*'s promise, agreed to by all Parties.

Hence the third point is inferr'd most clearly, that the truth is professed always by the Society of the *Church*; for the *Church* being no otherwise *visible* than by the *Profession* of the truth, it follows that if she is always, and always is visible, she cannot but always teach and profess the truth of the Gospel: from whence the fourth point is as clearly deduced, that it is not allowable to say, the Church is in error, nor to forsake her Doctrine; and all this is founded on the promise allow'd by all Parties, since in fine the same promise, which makes the *Church* be always, makes her always be in that state which the word *Church* implies; consequently, always *visible*, and always teaching the truth. Nothing is more simple, more clear, nor more coherent than this Doctrine.

IV. So clear is this Doctrine, that *Protestants* could not deny it: so clearly does it condemn them, that they durst not own it: wherefore, their *Ministers*, to were found perplexing it, nor were they able to shun falling into the contradictions I have been to relate.

Let us, in the first place, look into their *Confessions* of Faith, and to begin with that of *Ausburg*, which is the first, and as it were the [illegible] rest, the Mother [illegible] among [illegible] they delivered [illegible] *Church* [illegible] *Church* [illegible]

What now is the Church, which causes [illegible] follows, [illegible] explain it: *We*

the Church is the assembly of Saints, wherein the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administred.

Here may be seen three fundamental truths. First, *that the Church subsists always:* there is then an inviolate succession. Second, that she is essentially compounded of Pastors and People, the administration of the Sacraments and preaching of the Word entering into her very definition. Third, that the Word and Sacraments are not only therein administer'd, but *rightly* administer'd, *rectè, as they ought to be:* the which also enters into the essence of a Church, since it is placed, as we see, in her definition.

V. The Destruction of Protestantism, the subversion of their Reformation, and the source of their perplexities.

Now, this allow'd, the question is, how they can possibly accuse the *Church* of Error, either in Doctrine, or in Administration of the Sacraments; for, could that happen, the definition of the Church wherein is placed not only preaching, but *true* preaching of the Gospel, and not only administration, but *the right* administration of the Sacraments, would be false; and if that cannot happen, the *Reformation*, which accused the *Church* of Error, carried in her very title her own condemnation.

Observe well the difficulty, for this was the first source, in the *Protestant* Churches, of those contradictions we shall discover in them: but contradictions, which the remedies they thought to find for the defect of their original, made them but plunge the deeper into. In the mean while, till the series of facts lead us to these fruitless remedies, let us endeavour thoroughly to make known the evil.

VI. What it was they came to the *Protestant* Reformed obliged

On this foundation of the seventh Article of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, the *Lutherans* were ask'd, what it was they came to reform? The Church of *Rome*, said they. But have you any other

other *Church* wherein the Doctrine you would establish, is professed? 'Twas a fact incontestable that they could shew none. Where was then that *Church*, in which by your seventh Article, the true preaching of God's word, and the right administration of the Sacraments were always to subsist? To name some Doctors here and there, and from time to time, who, as you pretend, have taught your Doctrine; allowing that fact proved, yet would be nothing to the purpose: for it was a Body of a *Church* you were to shew, a Body, wherein truth was preach'd, and wherein the Sacraments were administred: by consequence, a Body compounded of Pastors and of People; a Body, in this respect, always visible. This is what must be shew'd, and consequently, shew'd, in this Body, a manifest succession both of Doctrine and of Ministry.

At the recital of the seventh Article of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, the *Catholicks* found fault with their declaring the Church, *the assembly of Saints*, and said, that Sinners and Hypocrites, who are united to the *Church* by the external bond, ought not to be excluded from their body. [illegible] for this Doctrine in the Apology, and it is not impossible that there may be a dispute as much about words as [illegible] but without flying at this, I [illegible] observe, they permitted to say, that the Church [illegible] and to hit always [illegible], Preaching [illegible] the Sacraments being essential to them: [illegible] hear how they speak: [illegible] *Church* [illegible] *Church*, [illegible] *Holy* [illegible] *Church*. And [illegible]

the Church was a Platonick *City* not to be found on earth: *we say that the Church exists; that in it there are true Believers and men truly just spread over all the universe: we add to this, its marks, the pure Gospel, and the Sacraments, and it is such a Church that's properly the pillar of the truth.* Here then at least unquestionably is a Church very really existing; very really visible, wherein sound Doctrine is very really preach'd, and the Sacraments very really administered as they ought to be: for, as they subjoin, the kingdom of *Jesus Christ* cannot subsist but with *the Word and Sacraments*, so that where they are not, *there can be no Church.* Ibid. 1.

VIII. How it was endeavour'd to make this Doctrine consist with the necessity of a Reformation. S. Ibid. n. 59.

This notwithstanding, many human traditions, said they, had crept into the Church, whereby sound Doctrine and the right administration of the Sacraments was changed; and this was what they would reform. But if these human traditions were turn'd in the *Church* into articles of Faith, where could be that purity of the Word and Doctrine, without which she could not subsist? Here the thing was to be palliated, and accordingly they said, as hath been seen, that their design was not to combat against *the Catholick Church, nor even the Church of* Rome, *nor to maintain opinions which the Church had condemn'd*; that the matter in debate was no more than *some few errors* brought into the Church *without any ancient authority*; nor was that to be taken for the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which was approved of only by the *Pope*, some *Cardinals*, some *Bishops*, and some *Monks*.

To hear the *Lutherans* speak thus, one might think, they did not impugn the received *Dogmata*, but some particular opinions only, and some few abuses lately crept in without authority.

This

This but little suited with those outrageous invectives of Sacrilege and Idolatry, with which they fill'd the whole universe, much less with an open rupture. But the fact is certain, and by these smooth words they endeavour'd to salve the inconsistency of owning corruption in the tenets of the *Church*, after having made a pure preaching of the truth, essential to her.

The perpetual visible continuance in the Articles of *Smalkald* by the promises of Jesus Christ. *Art. Smalc. Concord.* p. 345.

This immutability and perpetual duration of sound Doctrine was confirm'd in the Articles of *Smalkald* subscribed by the whole *Lutheran* Party, explaining those words of our Saviour: *On this rock will I build my Church*, namely, said they, *on this ministry of the profession made by* Peter. Thereunto preaching, and true preaching, was therefore necessary, without which, they own'd, the *Church* could not subsist.

X. The *Saxon* Confession, in which they beg to be excused, without departing from the present Doctrine, [illegible] *Concord.* p. [illegible]

Now we are upon the subject of the *Lutheran Church's* Doctrine, the *Saxonian* Confession, known to be *Melancthon's*, opportunely comes in my way. In it is acknowledged that there is always some true Church; *that the promises of God*, who hath promised her duration, *are immutable*; *that they speak not of a Church as a Platonick idea, but given us a Church which is seen and heard*; *and that this is contained in the entire, and in the assembly which continueth the Gospel of Christ* [illegible], *and in the rightness of the Sacraments*, [illegible] *Congregations of saints in the communion of the Gospel*, [illegible] *are regenerated*.

They add, [illegible] may be reduced to a *small number*; yet however, there is always a remnant of the *Church*, [illegible] *Church*, [illegible] *time to time*, [illegible] *the world*. They must mean that he continues it; for the duration of the Church which, as all said, cannot subsist without the Ministry, doth not allow us interruption even

for

for a moment; and immediately after, it's subjoin'd, *that God will have the ministry of the Gospel be publick; he will not have preaching shut up in darkness, but heard by all mankind; and that there be assemblies where it may resound, and where his name may be praised and invocated.*

Cat. de Cen. p. 13.

Here then you see the *Church* always visible. True it is, they begin to spy the difficulty, when saying, *she may be reduced to a small number:* but after all, the *Lutherans* are not less put to it to shew, at *Luther*'s first appearance, a small Society of their sentiments than a great one, and yet without that, there is neither *Ministry* nor *Church.*

XI. Doctrine of the Confession of Wirtemberg, and the perpetual Visibility always maintain'd. Cap. de Eccl. p. 132. Pref. de Concil. 134.

The Confession of *Wirtemberg*, which was pen'd by *Brentius*, does not degenerate from this Doctrine, it being there acknowledged, that *there is a Church so well govern'd by the Holy Ghost, that, altho' weak, she lasts forever; that she judges of Doctrine; and is, where the Gospel is sincerely preach'd, and where the Sacraments are administer'd according to Christ's institution.* The difficulty still remain'd of shewing us a *Church* and a Society of Pastors and People wherein sound Doctrine had always been preserved to *Luther*'s days.

The next chapter relates how Councils may err; by reason that, altho' *Jesus Christ* hath promised his *Church* the perpetual Presence of his holy Spirit, nevertheless, *every assembly is not the Church*; and it may happen in the Church, *as in bodies politick*, that the greater number of bad men may prevail over the good. This is what I shall not dispute at present: but still insist that they shew me a *Church*, little or great, which, before *Luther*'s coming, was of his sentiments.

The

XII. The Confession of *Bohemia* is approved by *Luther*. Therein is confessed *a Holy and Catholick Church, which includes all Christians dispersed throughout all the earth, which are assembled to preaching of the Gospel in the Faith of the Trinity and of Jesus Christ; wherefoever Jesus Christ is preach'd and received, and wherefoever are the Word and Sacraments according to the rule by him prescribed, there is the Church.* These men at least were fully satisfied, that when they were born, there was no Church in the whole universe of their belief; for the Deputies dispatch'd by them every where on that errand, had well assured them of it. And yet they durst not say, *their assembly, such as it was*, little or great, was the holy universal *Church*; but only that *she was a member and a part thereof*. But what then was become of all the other parts? They had survey'd all corners of the world, and no tidings of them: sad extremes indeed! not to dare to say, they were the *Universal Church*, and dare still less to say, that they had met with Brethren and Partners of their Faith in any whatsoever part of the whole Universe.

Be that as it will, these are the first that seem to intitle to a *Confession* of Faith, that true Christian *Church* ought to be separated from communion, that they dare not exclude from *Communion* only, the Churches with whom they know they had no Communion; which I hope may be a sufficient reason that the Dissenters will at least allow the full toleration of *Protestants* as fellow-subjects.

XIII. We have seen the *Lutheran* Confession approving the Confession we shall now hear the other Party. The Confession of *Sigismund*, presented to *Charles* V. [illegible]

Sleidan. an. 1535.

Ibid. 1535.

time with that of *Ausburg*, defines the *Church*, *the Society of those who have listed themselves soldiers of Jesus Christ, amongst whom are mixed many hypocrites.* There is no doubt that such a Society is *visible:* that she must always abide in this state of *visibility*, it being added, *that Jesus Christ does never abandon her; that those who do not hear her, ought to be held for* Heathens *and* Publicans; *that, indeed, there is no seeing what constitutes her a Church, namely, her Faith; yet she makes herself to seen by her fruits, amongst which one is Confession of the truth.* *Conf. August. c. xv. de Eccl. Sent. Gen. 1. p. p. 191.*

The following Chapter sets forth how that *the Church being on earth in the flesh, God also will instruct her by the exterior word, and make her faithful members preserve an exterior Society by means of the Sacraments.* There are then necessarily both Pastors and People, nor can the *Church* subsist without this ministry. *Cap. xvi. Ibid.*

XIV. Two Confessions of *Basil. Ibid. Art.* 14. 15.

The Confession of *Basil* in 1536, says that *the Catholick Church is the holy Congregation of all the Saints; and altho' unknown to any but God, nevertheless is she seen, is she known, is she constituted by external rites of God's appointment*, to-wit, by the Sacraments, *and by the publick and lawful preaching of his word:* wherein is seen manifestly, that Ministers lawfully called are comprehended, by whom, it's also added, God *makes himself known to his faithful, and administers to them the remission of their sins.*

In another *Confession* of Faith made at *Basil* in 1532, *The Christian Church is thus defined, the Society of the Saints, whereof all those, who confess Jesus Christ, are the* Citizens; thus, the profession of Christianity is essential to her.

XV. The *Helvetick* Confession

Whilst we are upon the *Helvetick* Confessions, that of 1566, which is the great and solemn one, defines also the Church *which hath been al-*

ways, which is, and which shall ever be, the assembly of the Faithful and of the Saints who know God, and serve him by the Word and the Holy Ghost. Here then is not only the interior band, namely the *Holy Ghost*, but the exterior also, which is the *Word* and *Preaching*: and therefore they say afterwards, *that sound and true preaching is one chief mark*, to which must be added *the Sacraments as God will institute them.* Whence they conclude, that the Churches which are deprived of these marks, *altho' they boast the succession of their Bishops, their Unity, and their Antiquity, do not belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ, nor can Salvation any more be had out of the Church, than out of the Ark: if you will have life, you must not separate yourself from the true Church of Jesus Christ.*

I desire these words may be observed, which will be of main consequence when we shall come to the last answers of the Ministers: mean while, let us but remark that it is impossible to teach more clearly that the *Church* is *one tribe*, and that first it necessarily compounded of Pastors and People, than it has been by this *Reformed* Confession.

But as they were obliged, according to their ideas, always to call a Ministry and a Church where the truth of Christianity was professed, tho' it was so small one, be it what it may would, they were very terrible that there was no *Church*, little or great, composed of Pastors and People, without which they could show that Faith, which they would make to pass for the only true Christian Faith. They are then forced to allege, *that the Faithful ought out of the Temple of Idolatry, and out of the captivity of Babylon, the pattern or emblem of every sort of the parties; that, tho' a sign particular of God, the*

the truth of his word and worship, and the Catholick Faith, are sometimes so obscured, that it seems almost as if they were extinct, and no Church at all subsisting, as happen'd in the time of Eli *and at other times: so that, the Church may be call'd invisible; not that the men she is composed of, are so; but because, she is often hidden to our eyes, and being known to God alone, escapes from the sight of men.* Here is the *Dogma* of an *Invisible* Church as clearly establish'd, as the *Dogma* of the *Visible* Church had been before; that is to say, the *Reformation*, struck at first with the true notion of the *Church*, defin'd it so as that her *Visibility* came into her very essence; but, afterwards fell into other notions thro' the impossibility of finding a *Church* always *Visible* of her Belief.

XVII. Church invisible, why invented. Confession of the Ministers *Jurieu*. *ut sup. p.* 226.

That it was this inevitable perplexity, which cast the *Calvinian* Churches upon this chimera of a *Church invisible*, none can doubt, after hearing Mr. *Jurieu*. *That which moved*, says he, *some Reformed Doctors*, (he should have said, whole Churches of the *Reformation*) in their own *Confessions* of Faith, *to cast themselves into the* PERPLEXITY *they were intangled in upon their denying the perpetual visibility of the Church, was* (says) *they believed, by making the Church always visible, they should find it difficult to answer the question which the Church of* Rome *so often makes us: Where was your Church a hundred and fifty years ago? If the Church be always visible, your* Calvinist *and* Lutheran *Church is not the true Church, for that was not visible.* This is fairly owning the cause of that perplexity which disturb'd his Churches: he that pretends to have refin'd beyond them, will not extricate himself better, as we shall see; but let us con-

tinue to observe the confusion of the Churches themselves.

XVIII. *Belgick Confession to the same purpose.* The *Belgick* Confession manifestly copies after the *Helvetick*, since it says, *that the Catholick or Universal Church is the assembly of all the faithful, that ever have, or, and will to eternity, by reason, that the Christ for eternal King cannot be without subjects, also*, *in some time, she from God*, AND AS IT WERE EVIDENT *to the eyes of men; as in the time of* Achab *and of seven thousand who had not bent their knees to* Baal.

Ibid. Art. 27. Nevertheless, they afterwards subjoin, *that the Church, the assembly of the Elect, out of which none can be saved; that it is not lawful to withdraw from it, or abide apart; but all must unite themselves to the Church*, and submit *to her discipline*; that one may see and know her, *by pure preaching, right administration of the Sacraments*, and a good discipline; *and it is thereby*, say they, *that we may certainly distinguish this true Church, from which it is not allowable to depart.*

It seems then on one side, as if they would say, one may easily and always know her since she hath such manifest tokens, and that it is never lawful to depart from her. And on the other side, if we press them to shew us a Church of their *Belief*, tho' never so minute, always visible; they prepare themselves a subterfuge by flying to this *Church* which does not appear, tho' they dare not speak out boldly, or say absolutely that she is *invisible*, but only, that she seems, *as it were evident.*

[illegible] *Confession of* [illegible] *speaks distinguishing the Church*, say they, [illegible] *in the Church* [illegible] *Ibid. Art. 27.*

is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's ordinance; that is, such is the when *Visible*, but this is not saying that she is always *Visible*: what follows is not more clear, *as the Church of* Hierusalem, Alexandria, *and* Antioch, *have err'd, so also the Church of* Rome *hath err'd in matters of Faith*: the question is, (they thus attainting these great, and as it were, mother Churches of all the rest) whether the infection might have spread so universally, as that the profession of truth was extinguish'd over all the earth: but they chose rather to speak nothing of it, than to incur this terrible dilemma which would oblige them, on one side, either to own there was no *Church* left on earth in which truth was confessed; or, allowing the impossibility of this, would oblige them, on the other side, to seek what they knew could not be found, to wit, a *Church* always subsisting and believing as they did.

XX. Confession of *Scotland*, and manifest contradiction. *Ibid. Art.* 16. *de Eccl. p.* 118. *Art.* 18. *p.* 119.

In the Confession of *Scotland*, *the Catholick Church is defined the Society of all the Elect*: they say, *she is invisible, and known to God only, who alone knows his Elect*; and add, that the true Church hath *for its mark, Preaching and the Sacraments*; and wherever these marks be, tho' there should be but *two or three men*, there is the Church of *Jesus Christ*, in the midst of which he is, according to his promise; *which is understood*, proceed they, *not of the universal Church just spoken of, but of the particular Church of* Ephesus, *of* Corinth, *and so forth, wherein the Ministry had been planted by St.* Paul: prodigious! to make *Jesus Christ* say, the Ministry may be, where but two or three men can be found. But they were forced into these straights; for to find one only *Church* of their belief, wherein was a regulated Ministry, as at *Ephesus*

or *Church*, always fulfilling, was what they desired.

XXI. Cardinal of Lorraine, Extend of France.

I have reviewed the *Confession* of the pretended Reformed of *France* for the Left, not only on account of the particular concern I ought to have for my own Country, but also on account that in *France* especially, the *Protestants* have for this long time fought most diligently for the solution of this difficulty.

Catech. Dominic.

Let us begin by the *Catechism*, wherein on the fifteenth *Sunday*, upon this Article of the Creed, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*, they teach, that this name is given her, *to signify that as there is but one Head of the faithful, so all ought to unite in one Body; so that there are not many Churches, but one only, the which is diffused all the world over.* How the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Church *was diffused all the world over*, when it was known in some corner of it, and, how Church of this belief is to be found, in all times and in all the world, is what makes the difficulty. They saw, and obviate it in the following *Sunday*, where are [illegible] *Dim. xx.* [illegible]

[illegible]

ing there taught, *that no man obtains pardon of his sins, unless he be first, incorporated with God's people, and persevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church:* whence they conclude, that, *out of the Church, there is nothing but Death and Damnation*; and that *all those who separate themselves from the company of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not, whilst divided, to hope Salvation. To make a Sect apart*, is, unquestionably, to break the exterior bonds of the *Church*'s Unity: they suppose therefore that the *Church*, wherewith it is necessary to be in Communion in order to obtain pardon of our sins, hath a twofold Union, the internal and external; and that both of them are necessary, first to Salvation, and secondly to the understanding the Article of the Creed touching the *Catholick* Church: so that this *Church*, confessed in the Creed, is *Visible* and distinguishable in her exterior; for which reason also they durst not venture to say, that we could not see her, but, could not see her *sing*, to wit, as to that which is internal: a thing no man disputes.

All these notions in the *Catechism*, came from *Calvin* who composed it: for, explaining the Article, *I believe the Catholick Church*, he distinguishes the Church *Visible*, from the *Invisible* known to God alone, the which is the Society of all the Elect, and it seems as if he would say, it is this the Creed speaks of: *altho'*, says he, *this Article regards, in some manner, the external Church*, as if they were two *Churches*, and it were not, on the contrary, most evident, that the same *Church*, which is *Invisible* in her internal gifts, doth manifest herself by the Sacraments and Profession of her Faith. But so it is that the *Reformation* is always in a panick XXIII. *Calvin's Catechism.*

when the Church's *Visibility* is to be acknowledged.

XXII. Confession of Faith of the Church of Geneva. Calvin. Inst. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. §. 9. & seq.

They set more naturally in their *Confession* of Faith, and elsewhere it hath been proved unanswerably, that they there own no other *Church* but that which is *Visible*. The fact stands incontestable, as will be seen hereafter. Nor was there indeed any thing that could bear a dispute; for, from the twenty fifth Article, where this matter begins, to the thirty second Article, where it ends, they all along evidently suppose the Church *Visible*; and in the twenty fifth Article, they lay it down as a fundamental point, that *the Church cannot subsist, unless there be Pastors in her that have the charge of teaching*. It is therefore a thing absolutely necessary; and those who oppose this Doctrine *are declared as fanatical*. Whence they conclude, in the twenty sixth Article, *that no man ought to* [illegible], *nor rest in it sufficiently*; so that it is necessary to be united externally with some *Church*: a truth inculcated in every place, without the appearance of so much as one word of a Church *Invisible*.

It ought, however, to be observed, that in the twenty sixth Article where [illegible] *no man ought to* [illegible] *of efficacy*, *and should give himself to your Church*, they add, *and that in* [illegible] *the Church*, wherein is [illegible] undoubtedly, wherever no [illegible] that such a [illegible] should.

XXIII. In the twenty seventh Article [illegible] to infinite [illegible], where [illegible] the true [illegible] would that [illegible] [illegible]; and after having declared that [illegible], they add, [illegible] *of* [illegible] *and* [illegible], [illegible]

whose wickedness cannot deface the Title of a Church, wherein the *Church*'s Visibility is clearly supposed anew.

By the principles laid down in the twenty eighth Article, the Church of *Rome* stands excluded from the Title of a true Church, forasmuch as, after laying this foundation, *that, where the word of God is not preach'd, and no profession is made of bringing oneself under subjection to it, and where there is no use of Sacraments properly speaking, we cannot judge that there is any Church*: they declare, they *condemn the assemblies of the Papacy, considering that the pure truth of God is banish'd thence, and the Sacraments are there corrupted, adulterated, falsified, or wholly annihilated; and all Superstitions and Idolatries are in vogue amongst them*: whence they draw this consequence: *We hold that all those who join in such deeds, and communicate in them, do separate and cut themselves off from the Body of Christ Jesus.*

XXVI. The Church of *Rome* excluded from the Title of a true Church by the twenty eighth Article of the *French* Confession.

It is impossible to decide more clearly, that there is no Salvation in the Church of *Rome*. And what is subjoin'd by them that there are still some *foot-steps of a Church amongst us*, so far from mitigating the precedent expressions, even strengthens them; in that, this term implies rather some remains and traces of a *Church* that had formerly pass'd that way, than a token of her being there. Thus was it understood by *Calvin* when he asserted, that *the essential Doctrine of Christianity was intirely forgotten by us*. But the difficulty of discovering a Society, in which God could be served before the *Reformation*, hath made them elude this Article, as we shall see hereafter.

Inst. l. 4. c. 11. §. 7.

The same reason obliged them also to elude the thirty first which regards the vocation of Ministers. However trite may have been this subject,

XXVII. The thirty first Article of the [illegible] which [illegible]

Interruption of the Ministry and the Collision of the visible Church is acknowledged.

subject, it must nevertheless of necessity be resumed, and so much the more, as it has given occasion to notorious Variations even in our days. It begins by these words: *We believe* ('tis an Article of Faith, consequently reveal'd by God, and reveal'd clearly in his Scripture according to the principles of the *Reformation*) *we believe that no man may intrude himself of his own proper authority into the government of the Church*; allow'd, the thing is certain; *but that the ought to be chosen by election*; this part of the Article is not less true than the other. You must be chosen, deputed, authoriz'd by some body; otherwise you are an intruder, *and by your own particular authority*, the thing just now prohibited. But here is what pinches the *Reformation*; they knew not who had chosen, deputed, authoriz'd the *Reformers*, and 'twas necessary to find out here some cloak for so visible a defect. Wherefore, after having said, you ought to be elected and deputed after some manner or other, without specifying any, they add: *or else [illegible] publick, and God permits it*: whereby an exception is manifestly prepared in behalf of the *Reformers*. And accordingly, they immediately subjoin, *[illegible] publick [illegible], because it [illegible] necessary sometimes, [illegible] when the state of the Church [illegible], that God [illegible] such men in an [illegible] to set up the Church [illegible]*. They could not [illegible], in more [illegible] and more [illegible] terms, the [illegible] of the [illegible] Ministry [illegible] God, and carry in [illegible] Ministry [illegible] God [illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible] Wills. For [illegible]

frankly in the present case, that they can neither produce Pastors that did consecrate, nor people that could elect; which implied necessarily the intire extinction of the Church in her *Visibility*; and remarkable it was that from the interruption of the Visibility and Ministry, they came to own in plain terms, that the *Church was fallen into ruin*; without distinguishing the *Visible* from the *Invisible*, because they had got into a train of simple notions by which the Scripture naturally leads us to own no *Church* but such as is *Visible*.

XXVIII. Prophecy made Synod of Gap and Rochelle, on account that the invisible Church had been forgotten in the Confession. Synod de Gap. Rochelle. Confession.

This difficulty was at length perceived by the *Reformation*; and in 1603, five and forty years after the *Confession* of Faith had been publish'd, was proposed to the national Synod of *Gap* in these terms. *The Provinces are exhorted to examine thoroughly in the Provincial Synods, in what terms the twenty fifth Article of the Confession of Faith, ought to couched, so much the more, as our belief, touching the Catholick Church whereof mention is made in the Creed, being to be expressed, there is nothing in the said Confession that can be understood of any other than the Church Militant and Visible.* A general command is subjoin'd, *that all come prepared on questions concerning the Church.*

This is therefore a fact well avow'd, that when they were to expound their Doctrine touching the *Church*, so essential an Article of Christianity as to have been expressed in the *Creed*, the idea of a Church *Invisible* did not so much as enter into the minds of the *Reformers*; so distant was it from good sense, and so unnatural. However, they bethink themselves afterwards that it's necessary for their turn, it being impossible for them to find out a *Church* which had always visibly persisted in the Faith they profess, and

and a remedy is therefore sought for this omission. What shall they say? That the Church might be wholly *Invisible*? This were introducing into a *Confession* of Faith so crude a fancy, so repugnant to good sense, that it never so much [illegible] into the heads of those that drew it up. It was therefore resolved at last, to leave it as they found it; and four years after, in 1607, at the national Synod of *Rochelle*, when all the Provinces had thoroughly examin'd what was wanting to the *Confession* of Faith, *they contented, not to add to, or example any thing from the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Articles*, the very same in which the *Visibility* of the Church was express'd the most fully, *nor to meddle afresh with the subject of the Church.*

XXIX. Mr. *Claude*, of all men, was the most subtle to elude the Decisions of his Church when they incommoded him: but for this bout he gets but too openly; for he would make us believe, that all the difficulty the Synod of *Gap* met with in the *Confession* of Faith, was that she could have wish'd, that instead of specifying only the *Militant and Triumphant* parts of the universal Church, *her Invisible parts, which are the Church Triumphant and that which is still to come, had also been specified.* Was not that indeed a very important, a very difficult question to enter into discussion of in all the Synods, and over all the Provinces, towards bringing it to a Decision in the next national Synod? Did they to name an dream of ever moving to tumultuous [illegible] And to [illegible] they troubled their heads [illegible] must not he have forgotten the words [illegible] of controversies [illegible] the beginning [illegible] *Reformation*? But Mr. [illegible] for instance, that the Synod's perplexity [illegible] arose but on this thing, in their *Confession* [illegible]

the *Invisible* Church, whilst his Brother Mr. *Jurieu*, in that more sincere, agrees that they thought it was necessary in the Party in order to answer the query, *Where was the Church?*

Sect. 17.

XXX. Remarkable Decision, where they flatly reject, of the Synod of *Gap*, concerning extraordinary vocation.

The same Synod of *Gap* pass'd an important Decision on the thirty first Article of the *Confession* of Faith, which spoke of the extraordinary vocation of Pastors: for the question being proposed, *Whether or no it were expedient, when they should treat on the Vocation of Pastors who reform'd the Church, to ground the authority they had to reform and teach, on the vocation which they had derived from the Church of* Rome; the Synod judged, *they ought to refer it, according to the Article, to the extraordinary Vocation only whereby God interiorly stirr'd them up to this Ministry, and not to the small remains amongst them of that corrupted ordinary Vocation.* Such was the Decision of the Synod of *Gap*: but, as before frequently observed, the *Reformation* never hits right at first. Whereas, she injoins here to have recourse *to an extraordinary Vocation only*, the Synod of *Rochelle* says, they must *principally* have recourse to it. But no more will they abide by the exposition of the Synod of *Rochelle*, than by the determination of the Synod of *Gap*, and the whole sense of the Article, so carefully explain'd by two Synods, shall be charged by two Ministers.

XXXI. The Minister *Claude* takes Occasion concerning extraordinary Vocation, [illegible]

The Ministers *Claude* and *Jurieu* are no longer for an extraordinary Vocation by which Ministers are sent immediately from God; neither does a *Confession* of Faith, or Synods terrify them: for as the *Reformed* in the main neither care for *Confessions* of Faith nor Synods, and answer objections from them only for form-sake, even the slightest evasions will serve their turn. For such, Mr. *Claude* was never at a loss; *the right*

Reg. Mag. Chart. 313, 314.

to teach, says he, *and to perform the pastoral functions is one thing*: the right to *labour towards a Reformation*, *is another*. As for the last, the Vocation was extraordinary, on account of the extraordinary talents the *Reformers* were endow'd with: but there was nothing extraordinary as for the Vocation to the Pastoral Ministry, since these first Pastors were appointed by the people, in whom the source of Authority and Vocation naturally resides.

Ibid. p. 317, 318.

XXXII. Extraordinary Vocations, establish'd in the Confession and two national Synods, is condem'd.

They could not shift off the thirty first Article in a more gross manner. For it is manifest, the question there regarded in no manner of way either the extraordinary labour towards a *Reformation*, or the rare talents wherewith the *Reformers* were endow'd; but merely the Vocation *for governing the Church*, into which it was not lawful *for any one to intrude himself of his own proper authority*. Now it was in this regard that they had recourse to an extraordinary Vocation; consequently, it was in regard of the Pastoral functions.

The Synod explains itself no less clearly: for without the least thought of distinguishing betwixt the power of *Reforming* and that of *Teaching*, which in reality are so link'd together that it is the same power which authorizes to teach, [illegible] to reform abuses: the question was whether the power, as well of *Reforming* as of *Teaching*, ought to be founded on Vocation derived from the Church of *Rome*, or on an extraordinary communication flowing immediately from God, and the Synod concludes for the latter.

But no longer were there any means left of maintaining, as they not having any one to establish them: nay, two Synods could find no other warrant to authorize these extraordinary commissions

mission'd Pastors, except what they said for themselves, that they had an *interior impulse to their Ministry*. The chiefs of the *Anabaptists* and *Unitarians* say the same, nor is there a more sure method of introducing into the Pastoral charge all manner of *Fanaticks*.

XXXIII. How important is the present dispute of the controversy about the Church.

Here was a fine field open'd to *Catholicks*. Nor have they been failing so to press the arguments touching the *Church* and Ministry, that intestine division began to disorder the camp of the enemy; and the Minister *Claude*, after subtilizing to a higher pitch than any one had ever done before him, was not able to content the Minister *Jurieu*. What they both have said on this subject, the steps they have taken towards the truth, the absurdities they fell into for not having sufficiently pursued their principle, have placed the question concerning the Church in such a state as not to be dissembled without omitting one of the most material occurrences of this History.

XXXIV. [illegible]

These two Ministers suppose the Church *Visible* and always *Visible*, nor is it in this point they are divided. In order to put it beyond all doubt that Mr. *Claude* persisted in this sentiment to the very last, I will produce the last Work of his on this subject. He there declares, that the question betwixt *Catholicks* and *Protestants* is not whether the Church be *Visible*: that it is not denied in his Religion that the true *Church* of *Jesus Christ*, the Church which his promises relate to, is so; he very clearly decides that the Text of St. *Paul*, in which the Church is represented without spot or wrinkle, [illegible] *the Church in Heaven*, but [illegible] *that is on Earth*: insomuch, that [illegible] *is the Body of Christ Jesus*, or what [illegible] to the same thing, *the Body of Christ* [illegible]

[illegible]

alone is the true Church, is visible: that this is the sentiment of Calvin *and* Mestrezat, *and that the Church of God is not to be sought out of the visible state of the Ministry and Word.*

XXXV. The promises of Jesus Christ in behalf of the Visibility, are allow'd. *Ibid. p. 15. Mat. xvi 18.*

This is most clearly owning, that she cannot subsist without her *Visibility* and the *Perpetuity* of her Ministry: accordingly hath this Author acknowledged it in many places, and particularly in expounding these words: the *gates of hell shall not prevail against her*; where he speaks thus: *It is these words be understood of perpetual succession of the ministry in a state sufficient for the edification of God's elect, in spite of all the efforts of hell, and in spite of all the disorders and confusions of the Ministers themselves; 'tis no more than what I own hath been promised by Jesus Christ, and therein it is that we have a sensible and palpable token of his promise.*

The Perpetuity therefore of the Ministry is not a thing which happens accidentally to the *Church*, or is only suitable to her for a time; 'tis a thing which is promised her by *Jesus Christ* himself; and it is equally certain, that the *Church* will never be without a *Visible* Ministry, as it is certain, that *Jesus Christ* is the Eternal Truth.

XXXVI. Another Promise equally contested. *Conf. Mr. Cl. p. 3. Rep. [illegible] d. [illegible] p. [illegible]*

This Minister proceeds still further, and expounding this promise of *Jesus Christ*, *Go ye, baptize, teach, &c. I am with you* [illegible], he approves the [illegible] made thereon: [illegible], and concludes it with these words: *I [illegible] that Jesus Christ promises the Church [illegible], and [illegible], with [illegible] instructions, to the end that [illegible] know [illegible] from whence I [illegible], [illegible] the Infallibility of the [illegible] Doctrine, with whom Jesus Christ is always [illegible]*

teaching: but do only employ it here to eſtabliſh by his Scriptures and his promiſes, with the conſent of this Miniſter, the viſible perpetuity of the Church-Miniſtry.

XXXVII. The Viſibility enters into the definition which the Miniſter *Claude* hath given of the Church. *Ibid.* 119.

Accordingly alſo he proceeds thus to define the Church; *the Church is*, ſays he, *the true faithful who make profeſſion of the truth, of Chriſtian piety, of a true ſanctity under a Miniſtry which furniſhes her with the food neceſſary for a ſpiritual life, without ſubtracting from her any part thereof.* Where the profeſſion of the truth and the perpetuity of the viſible Miniſtry are ſeen manifeſtly to enter the definition of the *Church*: whence it clearly follows, that as much as he is aſſured that ſhe will be always, ſo much is he aſſured that ſhe always will be viſible, ſince viſibility appertains to her eſſence, and comes into her very definition.

XXXVIII. In what manner the Society of the faithful is viſible, in this Miniſter's opinion. *P.* 79. 95. 115. 121. 146. 243.

If it be ask'd this Miniſter, how he underſtands the Church to be viſible, ſince he will have her be the aſſembly of the true faithful known to God alone, and that the profeſſion of the truth, which might make her known, is common to her with wicked men and hypocrites, as well as the viſible and exterior Miniſtry: he anſwers, that 'tis ſufficient, to render the aſſembly of the faithful viſible, that we may point at the place where ſhe abides, to wit, *the body wherein ſhe is nouriſh'd*, and the viſible Miniſtry under which ſhe is neceſſarily contain'd: by which means we may even ſay, *there ſhe is*, as, viewing the field in which grow good corn and tares, we ſay, *there is the good corn*, and as, beholding the nets wherein are good and bad fiſh, *there are the good fiſh.*

XXXIX. Before the Reformation, the Elect of God lived

But what was that publick and viſible Miniſtry under which were contain'd, before the *Reformation*, the true faithful whom he will have alone to be the true Church? this was the grand

 queſtion.

question. No Ministry was to be found throughout the whole universe that had perpetually continued, except that of the Church of *Rome*, or of others, whose Doctrine was equally disadvantageous to *Protestants*. Wherefore he was obliged at last to own, that this *Body in which the true faithful were nourish'd, and the Ministry whereby they received sufficient food without subtraction of any part*, was the Body of the Church of *Rome*, and the Ministry of her Prelates.

XI. This Minister here to be praised for his penetration, exceeding that of many others, and for not having confined the Church to Societies separate from *Rome*, as were the *Vaudois* and *Albigeois*, the *Wickliffites* and the *Hussites*: for altho' he considers them as the most *illustrious part of the Church, because they were the most pure, the most holy, and the most generous*, he well saw, it was ridiculous there to place the whole defence of his cause; and in his last work, without minding their obscure Sects whose infinitesimacy is now made visible, he no where fixes the true *Church* and true faithful but in the *Latin* Ministry.

XII. But here lies the dilemma which it's impossible to evade: for the Catholicks return to their old Query: if the true Church is always *Latin*, if the marks to know her by, "could [illegible] your *Confessions* and all your *Confessions* of Faith, be the pure preaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the Sacraments: [illegible] the Church of *Rome* had the true marks, and your Church [illegible] not; [illegible] no [illegible] your [illegible] and the [illegible] Body in which [illegible] contained the true Church. For an [illegible] to this, [illegible] hath told us, [illegible] *Confessions* was [illegible] *nothing but a [illegible] of Insanity and Impiety*. He [illegible]

ſentiments paſs'd into the *Confeſſion* of Faith, wherein we have ſeen *that the pure truth of God was baniſh'd from this Church; that the Sacraments were there corrupted, falſified, and adulterated; that all Superſtition and Idolatry were there in vogue.* Whence he concluded, that the Church *was fallen into deſolation and ruin, the ſtate of the Miniſtry interrupted*, and her ſucceſſion ſo annihilated, that there was no means of reviving it but by an extraordinary miſſion. And in reality, if *imputed* Juſtice was the foundation of Chriſtianity; if the *merit* of works, and ſo many other received Doctrines were mortally ruinous to piety, if both Kinds were eſſential to the *Euchariſt*, where was the Truth and Sacraments? *Calvin* and the *Confeſſion* were in the right to ſay, according to theſe principles, that no *Church* at all was left amongſt us. *Ibid.*

On the other ſide, neither can it be ſaid that the Church hath ceaſed, nor ceaſed to be *Viſible*: the promiſes of *Jeſus Chriſt* are too perſpicuous, and reconciled they muſt be, ſome way or other, with the Doctrine of the *Reformation*. Hence commenced the diſtinction of *Additions* and *Subtractions*: if by ſubtraction you take away ſome fundamental truths, no longer ſtands the Miniſtry: if you lay evil *Dogmata* on theſe foundations; nay, tho' they ſhould deſtroy this foundation by conſequence, the Miniſtry ſubſiſts, impure indeed, yet ſufficient: and by the diſcernment which the faithful make of the foundation which is *Jeſus Chriſt*, from that which is ſuperadded, they ſhall find all neceſſary nouriſhment in the Miniſtry. Here then ends that purity of Doctrine, and of Sacraments rightly adminiſtred, which had been ſet as marks of the true Church. Without having ſo much as preaching which you can approve of, or worſhip which

XLII. The anſwers whereby they fall into a greater perplexity.

you can join in, or an intire *Eucharist*, still have you all necessary food without subtraction of any part thereof, still have you the purity of the Word, and the Sacraments well administred: what is it to contradict one self if this be not?

XLIII. According to the Minister principles all intire in the Church of *Rome* that believe quoad for eternal Salvation

But here occurs another difficulty. If together with all these points of Doctrine, all these practices, and all this worship of the Church of *Rome*, with the Adoration and Oblation of our Saviour's Body, with the subtraction of one kind, and all the other *Dogmata*, you have still *all necessary food without subtraction of any part*, because one God is by her confessed, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and one only *Jesus Christ* as God and Saviour; it is therefore to be had there still: still have you in her the marks of a true Church, namely, purity of Doctrine, and the right administration of the Sacraments to a sufficient degree: still then the true Church is there, and still therein may you save your soul.

XLIV. No difference between us and our Fathers

To this Mr. *Claude* would not agree; the consequences of so considerable a concession made him tremble for the *Reformation*. But Mr. *Jurieu* did not mince the matter, sensible as he was that the differences which Mr. *Claude* alledged betwixt us and our Fathers, were too trivolous to beggar it.

And indeed, no more than these two are mentioned: the first *is*, that at present, there is a Body whole Communion we may embrace, [illegible] the Body of the pretended *Reformed*: the second is, that the Church of *Rome* hath made many *Dogmata* Articles of Faith, which, in our Fathers time, were not so held.

But [illegible] to examine the Matter a little, [illegible] to remember what the Ministers have to answer to this: that *the Bohemians*, *the Vaudois*, *the Albigeois*, *the Waldenses*, *the*

Hussites,

Huſſites, *&c.* had already appear'd in the world as *the moſt illuſtrious part of the Church, becauſe they were the moſt pure, the moſt knowing, the moſt generous.* Again, he hath but to remember that, even in his judgment, the Church of *Rome had already given cauſe ſufficient of with-drawing from her Communion by her* Anathematiſms *againſt* Berengarius, *againſt the* Vaudois *and* Albigenſes, *againſt* John Wickliff *and* John Huſs, *and by the perſecutions ſhe had exerciſed againſt them.* Yet he owns nevertheleſs, in all theſe places, that, in order to Salvation, it was not neceſſary to join with theſe Sects, and that *Rome* did ſtill contain the Elect of God.

To ſay that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* outſhone them in brightneſs and luſtre, were only diſputing about more or leſs, the Subſtance of the thing ſtill continuing the ſame. The deciſions, paſs'd againſt theſe Sects, comprehended the principal part of what afterwards was defined againſt *Luther* and *Calvin*; and without ſpeaking of Deciſions, the conſtant and univerſal practice of offering the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, and making the moſt eſſential part of the divine worſhip to conſiſt in this Oblation, was no new thing, nor was it poſſible to remain in the *Church* without conſenting to this worſhip. We had therefore, with this worſhip and with all its dependencies, all neceſſary food without ſubtraction of any part thereof: therefore we may ſtill have it: Mr. *Claude* could not have denied this without too groſs an impoſition, nor was the conceſſion lately made of it by Mr. *Jurieu*, otherwiſe than forced.

Add to this that Mr. *Claude*, who would make us believe ſo great a difference betwixt the times preceding and thoſe ſubſequent to the *Reformation*, under pretext that Doctrines before un-

decided are since made Articles of Faith hath himself destroy'd this answer, by saying, *that it was not a more difficult thing to the people to abstain from believing and practising what had been made a* Dogma, *than to abstain from believing, and practising what was taught by the Ministry, when it was commanded by it, and never was become* Dogma; so that this nugatory matter of making new *Dogmata*, which he set up for such a scare-crow to his Party, after all, is just nothing even in his own judgment.

XIV. To these inconsistences of Mr. *Claude*'s Doctrine, I add also a palpable falsehood which he was bound to maintain by his system: viz. that the true faithful, whom he owns in the Church of *Rome* before the Reformation, *never subsisted without communicating in her Doctrine, or her corrupted practices*; that is to say, without coming to *Mass*, without confessing themselves, without communicating all their lives, or at death, in a word, without ever performing any one action of a *Roman Catholick*.

He has been made to see a hundred times, what a new prodigy this would be: for, without speaking of the great care that was taken all the Church over to make inquiries after the *Vaudois* and *Albigeois*, the *Hussites* and *Huffiters*: it is certain in the first place, that even those, whose Doctrine was unsuspected, were obliged, on a hundred occasions, to shew tokens of their belief, and particularly when the holy *Eucharist* was given them. There needs but to look into all the *Rituals* antecedent to *Luther*'s times, to be convinced of the care then taken to make, whom they administred it to, first confess their sins, and in giving it them, to make them own therein the *Truth* of the Body of our Lord, and adore it with a profound respect. A second incontestable

contestable fact results from thence: which is, that the conceal'd *Vaudois* and others, who had a mind to shelter themselves from the Church's censures, had no other means of compassing it, than by practising the same worship with the *Catholicks*, even by receiving Communion with them: 'tis what hath been most demonstrably shewn by all kind of proofs that can be had in such a matter. But there is a third and still more certain fact, it being acknowledged even by the Ministers: *viz.* that of all those who embraced either *Lutheranism* or *Calvinism*, not so much as one hath been found to say, that, in embracing such Doctrines, he did not change his belief, but only declared, what he had always believed in his heart.

Cap. 1. n. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

XLVI. A certain fact, that before the Reformation, the Doctrine she taught was unknown. Reflection on a discourse of Mr. Claude after the Conference with this Minister [illegible] *Cond.*

To this fact distinctly stated, Mr. *Claude* is satisfied with answering insultingly: Does M. *de Meaux imagine that the disciples of* Luther *and* Zuinglius *ought to have made formal declarations of all they had thought before the Reformation, or that those declarations should appear publickly in print?*

This is shuffling in too weak and palpable a manner, for I did not pretend, that all ought to be declared, or all printed; but that they never would have omitted to write that which decided one of the most material points of the whole cause, namely, the question, whether or no before *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, there was any one person of their Faith, or whether their Faith then was absolutely unknown. This question was decisive, since none being able to conceive that the truth had been wholly extinguish'd, it follow'd manifestly, that what Doctrine soever was undiscoverable then on earth, could not be the truth. Examples would have clear'd all kind of doubt on this matter, and if any had been, it is

evident they would have made them publick: but none did they produce: it is therefore, because there were none, and the fact must stand for uncontestable.

XLVII. Whether *Luther's* success be a proof that, before his appearance, men thought as he did. *Bossuet* and *Mr. Chauvelin* for *Rome*. *Mr. Maimbourg* and *Mr. Basnage* for the *Reformation*.

All that could be answer'd to this was, *that, had men been satisfied with the Doctrines and worship of* Rome, the *Reformation* would not have met with so speedy a success. But not to repeat here what elsewhere may be found with regard to this success, and even throughout this whole History, 'tis sufficient to reflect on that saying of St. *Paul*, *That the word of Heretick will spread like a gangrene*: now the *gangrene* does not suppose a *gangrene* in the body it corrupts, nor by consequence, do *Heretick*s find their error already settled in those minds which it deprave. It is true, *matters were disposed*, as says Mr. Chauvelin, by ignorance and other above-mention'd causes, for the most part little to the credit of the *Reformation*: but to conclude from thence with this Minister, that the disciples, which novelty gain'd to *Luther*, were already of his sentiments, is instead of a positive fact which proof is demanded, substituting a consequence that is not only doubtful, but even evidently false.

XLVIII. Another of Mr. Chauvelin's reasons, which appears to have weight, [illegible] *Luther*, [illegible] *Rome*, [illegible] *Reformation*.

Again: tho' it were granted Mr. Chauvelin that, before the *Reformation*, all men were asleep in the Church of *Rome*, even so far as to let every man alone to be pleased: those that were neither present at *Mass* nor *Confession*, that never confess'd their sins, never partook of the Sacraments, either living or dying, least and dead quite unbelieved [illegible] from such people a Confession of Faith, and separation of the [illegible] given to their Brethren, and, what [illegible] by advancing such principles? His design then was to prove, men might have lived [illegible] which

whilst remaining with sincerity in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. In proof of this, the first thing he does, is to take from those he saves, all the exterior bands of Communion. The most essential part of the service was the *Mass*: they were to take no part in it. The most manifest token of Communion, was communicating at *Easter*: they were to abstain from it; otherwise they must have adored *Jesus Christ* as present, and partook but of one Kind. All Pulpits resounded with this Worship, with this Communion, and infine, with these Doctrines deem'd so corrupt. Great heed was to be taken not to give the least sign of approving them: by this means, says Mr. *Claude*, Salvation might be had in *Communion* with the *Church*. He ought rather to have concluded, that by this means Salvation would be had *out of Communion* with the *Church*, since by this means, such would have violated all the ties of Communion; for in short, let him define to me what it is to be in *Communion* with a *Church*. Is it to dwell in the country where this *Church* is own'd, as *Protestants* did amongst us, and *Catholicks* do now in *England* and *Holland*? Surely it can't be that; but perhaps 'tis to appear in the Churches, to hear the sermons, and be present at the assemblies without any token of approbation, and much in the same disposition with a curious traveller without saying, *Amen*, to their prayers, and especially without ever communicating? This is bantering, you'll reply. Why then, to communicate with a *Church*, is at least to frequent her meetings with the marks of consent and approbation given thereto by others. To give these marks to a *Church* whose profession of Faith is criminal, is giving consent to a crime: and refusing them, is no longer being in that exte-

rior

rior Communion, wherein nevertheless you would have them be.

But if you say, the marks of approbation to be given must only fall on the truths which this *Church* preaches, and on the good she practices; by the same way of reasoning one might be in Communion with the *Socinians*, with the *Deists* could they make one Society, with the *Mahometans*, with the *Jews*, by receiving the several truths professed in each Party, silent as to all the rest, and living wathal in every respect a complete *Socinian*, a complete *Deist*: what extravagance can compare with this?

XLIX. This is the state wherein Mr. *Claude* hath left the controversy touching the *Church*; a weak state, as is plain, and manifestly indefensible. And indeed he does not trust to it, nor will he deprive his Party of the subterfuge, tho' never so pitiful, of an *Invisible* Church, since he supposes, God may make his *Church* intirely vanish out of the sight of men; and when he says, he may, 'tis not his meaning that he can do this absolutely speaking, and it implies no contradiction, for that is not the question; nor are metaphysical abstractions here so much as thought of: but, he may do it in the *Hypothesis*, and allowing the present plan of Christianity. 'Tis in this sense that Mr. *Claude* decides, that *God was, when he pleased, [illegible] faithful to [illegible] several Sects, and [illegible] them in [illegible] state, and that [illegible] great [illegible] Church [illegible] Church [illegible] Are [illegible] that he [illegible] not [illegible] the Church [illegible] the [illegible] of his Majesty [illegible] way [illegible] but [illegible] of [illegible] Church, [illegible]*

XLIX. The Ministers [illegible] in what he [illegible] of the Church [illegible] *Hypothesis* [illegible] *Pag.* 47. 29. 314. *Pag.* [illegible] *Claude* [illegible]

you always, and the gates of hell shall not prevail: to say, what we have just heard, is to forget his own Doctrine and make void the promises which are more durable than heaven and earth. But his case was this: after his utmost straining to reconcile them with his *Reformation*, and to maintain the Scripture-Doctrine of the Visibility, he found it still requisite to leave himself a safe refuge in the *Invisible* Church to fly to in case of need.

I. The Minister *Jurieu* comes in to the assistance of the Minister *Claude*, who had involved himself in an inextricable Labyrinth. *Seb. de l'Esl. l.* 1. *ch.* 20. 21. &c.

In this posture was the question when Mr. *Jurieu* publish'd his new System of the *Church*. No means were there of defending the difference which his Brother would have placed betwixt us and our Fore-fathers, nor of saving one, in damning the others. No less ridiculous was it, in owning that some *Elect* are born to God in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, to say, that these Elect of her Communion were such as took no part in her Doctrine, nor in her Worship, nor in her Sacraments. Mr. *Jurieu* was very sensible, that these pretended *Elect* could be nothing but hypocrites, or impious men; and at length, tho' with much ado, he open'd Heaven's gate to those who lived in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But lest she might glory in this advantage, he communicated it, at the same time, to all other *Churches* wheresoever *Christianity* is spread, how much soever divided amongst themselves, tho' never so unmercifully excommunicating one another.

II. He carried this notion to such a height, that he did not stick to call the contrary opinion, *inhuman*, *cruel*, *barbarous*, in a word, an *Executioner*'s opinion that is pleased with damning mankind, and the most tyrannical that ever was. He will not allow a truly charitable Christian can have any other sentiment than that which

which places the *End* in all Communions where *Jesus Christ* is known; and informs us that, it amongst his own people this Doctrine *hath not been hitherto much insisted on*, 'twas from the effect *of a policy* which he does not approve. Nay, he has found means to render his system so far plausible in his Party, that they no longer oppose any thing else to our instructions, and believe, they have therein so strong a hold as not to be forced from it; so that the last resource of the *Protestant* Party, is to give to *Jesus Christ* a kingdom like unto that *of Satan*; a kingdom *divided against itself, ready* by consequence *to be brought to desolation, and whose houses are falling one upon the other.*

Luke xi. 17, 18.

LII. It now one should desire to know the history and progress of this opinion, the glory of the invention belongs to the *Socinians*. These men, indeed, agree not with the rest of Christians in *fundamental* Articles, for they admit but two; the *Unity* of God, and the *Mission* of *Jesus Christ*. But say, all those, who profess them with manners suitable to this profession, are true members of the Church *universal*, and that the *Dogmata* superadded to this foundation hinder not Salvation: nor is the world ignorant of the notions and indifferency of *Dy-Dominis*, on this head. After the Synod of *Charenton*, where the *Calvinists* received the *Lutherans* to Communion, notwithstanding the separation of both Societies; there resulted a necessity of acknowledging one and the same *Church* in different Communions. The *Lutherans* were far from this sentiment: but *Calixtus*, one of the most renown'd and learned of them, hath in our days, brought it into vogue in *Germany*, and admits into the Communion of the universal Church all Sects preserving the foundation, not so much as the Church

The rise of the Opinion beginning from the Socinians. Opinion of the Reformation between Vol. Church and Sect.

Calixtus.

of

of *Rome* excepted. It is near thirty years since *Huisseau* Minister of *Saumur* push'd on the consequence of this Doctrine to a great extent. This Minister, already famous in his Party for his publication of *Ecclesiastical* discipline compared with the Decrees of national Synods, made himself much spoken of by the plan of reuniting all Christians of all Sects, which he proposed in 1670, and Mr. *Jurieu* acquaints us that he had many sticklers notwithstanding the solemn condemnation which was pass'd on his books and person. A little while since, Mr. *Pajon* the famous Minister of *Orleans*, in his answer to the *Pastoral* letter of the *French Clergy*, did not think himself able to maintain the Church-system, defended by Mr. *Claude*: the *Catholicity* or Universality of the *Church* appear'd to him much more extensive than his Brother had made it; and Mr. *Jurieu* gives notice to Mr. *Nicole*, *that answering Mr.* Claude's *book will be doing nothing, unless he also answer that of Mr.* Pajon, *by reason that these two gentlemen having taken different paths, one and the same answer cannot satisfy them both.*

Claude's Preface at the beginning of the Preface p.

Ibid. p. 12.

In this division of the *Reformation* driven to the utmost streights on the question touching the *Church*, Mr. *Jurieu* sided with Mr. *Pajon*; and not affrighted with the separation of Churches, decides, *that all Christian Sects which agree in some tenets, inasmuch as they agree, are united to the Body of the Christian Church, tho' they be in Schism one against another* EVEN TO-DAGGERS DRAWING.

Hist. Sentiments of the Sectaries p. 1. p. 1.

Notwithstanding these so general expressions, he varies in regard of the *Socinians*: for at first in his *allowable Professions*, where he spoke naturally what he thought, he begins, by enrolling them *amongst the members of the Christian Church.*

Preface p. 4.

Church. He seems a little puzzled at the question, whether or no one may save his soul amongst them: for on one hand, he seems to allow none capable of Salvation but those who live in Sects, wherein *Jesus Christ*'s divinity with other the fundamental Articles are acknowledged; and on the other, after compounding *the Body of the Church of all that great heap of Sects which make profession of Christianity in all provinces of the world* put together, wherein the *Socinians* visibly are comprehended, he concludes in express terms, *that the Saints and Elect are spread in all parts of this vast Body*.

P. 4 &c. *P.* 8.

The *Socinians* gain'd their cause, and Mr. *Jurieu* was blamed even in his own Party, for having been too favourable to them; which is the cause that he restrains in some measure his ideas in his systems: for whereas, in his *Professions*, he placed naturally in the Body of the universal *Church* all Sects whatsoever without exception: in the system, he commonly tacks to it this corrective, *at least those who preserve the fundamental Articles*; which he explains in behalf of the *Trinity* and other points of like consequence. Thereby he meant'd to limit his general propositions: but at last, led on by the force of his principles, he broke thro' all restraints laid on him by the policy of the Party, and loudly own'd that the true Church may be found in the Communion of a [illegible] Church.

P. 133 &c.

This is the history of that opinion which makes [illegible] Church out of separate Communions [illegible] great would be its advantages [illegible] and not policy obstruct [illegible] principles of [illegible] multiply in the [illegible] Party. [illegible] *Church*, it's part, [illegible] spirit of the *Church* prevails among them; and as Mr. *Jurieu* [illegible] himself

ſelf in that Party, by defending it, and none has better laid down the principles, nor better fore-ſeen the conſequences of it, its irregularity cannot be ſhewn better, than by relating the diſorder into which that Miniſter has caſt himſelf by this Doctrine, and the advantage he at the ſame time affords the *Catholicks*.

To dive to the bottom of his *notion*, his diſtinction of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Body*, and of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Soul*, muſt be preſuppoſed. The profeſſion of Chriſtianity is ſufficient to make part of the *Body* of the Church; the which he advances againſt Mr. *Claude* who compounds the *Body* of the Church, of the true faithful only: but to have part in the *Soul* of the Church, it's neceſſary to be in the Grace of God.

Ibid. Mr. Claude may be in the Church of Rome, according to the Minister. p. 1. 2. 3. Sect. 1. chap. 1.

This diſtinction ſuppoſed, the queſtion is, what Sects are ſimply in the *Body* of the Church, and what are thoſe in which one may attain to partake of her *Soul*, namely of Charity and the Grace of God: which he explains clearly enough by an abridgement he makes of Church-hiſtory. This he begins by ſaying, ſhe was corrupted after *the third Century*: this date muſt be obſerved. He paſſes over the fourth Century without either approving, or blaming it: *but*, continues he, *in the fifth, the ſixth, the ſeventh, and the eighth, the Church adopted Divinities of a ſecond rate, adored Relicks, made herſelf Images, and proſtituted herſelf before them even in the Churches: and then grown ſickly, deformed, infirmous, ſhe was alive nevertheleſs*: ſo that her *Soul* was in her ſtill, and what is worthy obſervation, it was in her, in the midſt of *Idolatry*.

P. 2.

Ibid.

He goes on ſaying, *that the univerſal Church divided itſelf into two great parties, the* Greek *Church, and the* Latin *Church*. *The* Greek *Church*, *before*

P. 2.

before this great Schism, was already subdivided into Nestorians, Eutychians, Melchites, *and divers other Sects: the* Latin *Church, into* PAPISTS, Vaudois, Hussites, Taborites, Lutherans, Calvinists, *and* Anabaptists; and he pronounces, that *it is an error to imagine, all those different Parties had absolutely broke off from Jesus Christ by breaking one from the other.*

IV. The Church of *Rome* comprehended amongst the living Societies, wherein the fundamentals of Salvation are retained. *Ibid.* p. 149.

Who breaks not with *Jesus Christ*, breaks not from Salvation and Life: accordingly, he counts these Societies amongst the *living* Societies. The Societies that are *dead*, according to this Minister, are *those which ruin the foundation, to wit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and other the like articles: but this is not the case of the* Greeks, *the* Armenians, *the* Cophtes, *the* Abyssins, *the* Russians, *the* PAPISTS, *and* Protestants; *all these Societies*, says he, *have compased the Church, and therein also God preserves his fundamental truths.*

Ibid. p. 115.

It signifies nothing to object that they subvert these truths by consequences drawn in good form from their principles, because, as they disown these consequences, they ought not, says this Minister, to be imputed to them; for which reason, he acknowledges God's *Elect* even amongst the *Eutychians*, who confounded the two Natures of *Jesus Christ*, and amongst the *Nestorians*, who divided his Person. *Some to me seem to doubt*, says he, *that God preserves a remnant to them according to the election of Grace*; and left it should be imagined, there is more difficulty with respect to the Church of *Rome* than for others, on account that there is, according to him, the kingdom of *Antichrist*, he clears this doubt in express terms, affirming that God's *Elect were preserved even in the kingdom of Antichrist*, and in *Babylon itself*.

Proj. et. p. 16.

Ibid.

The Minister proves it by these words: *come out of* Babylon, *my people*. Whence he concludes that the people of God, that is, his *Elect*, must necessarily have been in it: but, continues he, they were not in it as his Elect are in some manner amongst the Heathens, from whom they are withdrawn; *for God does not call these his people who are in the state of damnation*: consequently, the *Elect* who are found in *Babylon*, are absolutely out of this state, and in the state of Grace. *It is*, says he, *more clear than day, that God, in these words*, come out of *Babylon*, my people, *alludes to the* Jews *of the* Babylonian *captivity*, who certainly, *in this state, did not cease to be* Jews *and the people of God*.

LVI. The [illegible] Church of Rome no hindrance to men having their souls in it. *Sist. p.* 145.

After this manner, the spiritual *Jews* and the true *Israel of God*, that is, his true children, are to be found in the Communion of *Rome*, and will be found there to the end, it being evident that this sentence, *come out of* Babylon, *my people*, is pronounced even in the fall and desolation of that mystical *Babylon*, which he will have to be the Church of *Rome*.

Gal. vi. 16.

Rev. xviii. 4.

In order to explain how men are saved in her, the Minister distinguishes two ways: the first, which he has taken from Mr. *Claude*, is the way of separation and discernment, when one is in the Communion of a *Church* without partaking of her errors, and of whatever may be evil in her practices. The second, added by him to that of Mr. *Claude*, is the way of toleration on God's side, when, in consideration of fundamental truths retain'd in a Communion, God pardons errors superadded to them.

LVII. Men may be saved among us without retaining our Faith and Worship.

That he comprehends us in this last way, he clearly gives to understand in his system, where he declares the conditions upon which one may hope from God some toleration [illegible]

up the foundation by their additions, yet without raising it anew. By what has been now said, it is plain, he means us and those like to us; and the condition under which he allows men may be saved in such a kind of Sect is, *that they communicate with it in sincerity, believing that it hath preserved the place of the sacraments, and obliged to nothing against conscience*; which shews, (so far from obliging those who abide in these Sects to reject their Doctrine in order to be saved) that they who remain therein with the greatest sincerity, and are the most persuaded as well of the Doctrine as of the practices in use amongst them, may be the soonest saved.

LVIII. One may be saved who is born in, or never goes from communion.

It is true, he seems to add two other conditions also: one, of having been engaged in these Sects from one's birth; and the other, of not having it in one's power to communicate with a more pure Society, either because one knows none such, or *is not in a condition of breaking* with the Society he happens to be in. But afterwards he passes beyond those bounds: for after [illegible] question, whether it be lawful [illegible] a Greek, [illegible] *exhibit* Latin, [illegible] *a* Protestant, *from* [illegible] *a* Catholick, [illegible] *a* Lutheran, he answers, no, when you [illegible] But, [illegible] he declares [illegible] *are not to* [illegible] *born in them*, so that one may [illegible] a *Latin* and *Papist* when born in the Communion,

nion, but alſo, come into it from *Calviniſm* without forſaking the way of Salvation; nor are they, who ſave their ſouls amongſt us, ſuch only, as ſaid Mr. *Claude*, who abide amongſt us without approving our Doctrine; but ſuch even as are ſincere in the profeſſion of it.

LIX. This Doctrine of the Miniſter deſtroys all he ſays againſt us and our Idolatries.

Our Brethren, the pretended *Reformed*, may thence be convinced, that all they are told of our *Idolatries*, is wretchedly extravagant. Never was it believed that an *Idolater* might be ſaved under pretence of his ſincerity: ſo groſs an error, ſo manifeſt an impiety, is incompatible with an upright conſcience. Wherefore the *Idolatry* imputed to us is of a particular ſpecies; 'tis an Idolatry invented to excite againſt us the hatred of the weak and ignorant. But it is high time they ſhould undeceive themſelves; for, to be converted is no ſuch great misfortune, ſince he who cries out the loudeſt againſt our *Idolatries*, and loads with moſt reproaches the *converters* and *converted*, is agreed that all of them may be true Chriſtians.

LX. The *Ethiopians* tied adding Circumcision to the Sacraments of the Church. *Gal.* v. 2. 539, 540.

Neither is the preſumption imputed to us of having, on one ſide, augmented the number of the Sacraments, and on the other, mutilated the Supper by cutting off, as they ſay, a Part from it, any longer to be exaggerated by them: for this Miniſter declares it would be *a cruelty to turn out of the Church* ſuch as admit other Sacraments than thoſe two, which he pretends are only inſtituted by *Jeſus Chriſt*, namely *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*; and ſo far from excluding us thence for having added to them *Confirmation*, *Extreme-Unction*, and the reſt, he does not even exclude from it the *Ethiopick* Chriſtians, who, ſays he, receive *Circumciſion*, not by a politick cuſtom, but in quality of a Sacrament, altho' St. *Paul* hath

hath declared: *if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.*

CXLI. Communion under one Kind. As for what concerns Communion under one Kind, nothing is more common in the writings of the Modellers, even of this Author himself, than to lay, that by so giving the *Eucharistick* Sacrament we corrupt the foundation and essence thereof, which, in matter of Sacraments, is saying [illegible] *as if we never had them.* But such propositions are not to be taken literally, as our Rivals fancy. Mr. *Claude* hath already told us, that before the *Reformation*, our Fathers receiving but in one Kind, but nevertheless all receiving [illegible] *of any part* [illegible] and Mr. *Jurieu* speaks still more clearly the [illegible] as, after having defined the Church, *the congregation of the Communion of Saints, preach the word of God, celebrate the Sacraments, [illegible] the Sacrament of Baptism, and [illegible] the Doctrine*, he adds as expressly in this collection of Communion, [illegible] Church: which manifestly supposes that we give the Substance of the *Sacrament*, and by consequence, that both Kinds are not essential to it. Let our Brethren then see no longer their coming over to us in sincerity and truth, since their Ministers have [illegible] for them the [illegible] obligation, [illegible] they [illegible] against it.

CXLII. Transubstantiation. [illegible] appears a manifest opposition between [illegible] Scripture and the [illegible] of Faith of the [illegible] Churches; for the [illegible] of [illegible] of their immunity, [illegible] *Popes* [illegible] *Decrees*, [illegible] *Canons*, [illegible] *Lords*

of

of our pretended *Reformed* hath concluded, that, in the *Roman* Church, whence *the pure truth of God was banish'd, and where the Sacraments were corrupted, or wholly annihilated, properly speaking, there was no Church at all.* But our Minister assures us, these expressions are not to be understood in their strict sense; as much as to say, there is a great deal of exaggeration and excess in what the *Reformation* says to our charge. *Ibid.* *Prop. Ibid.*

However, 'tis something curious to behold, how the Minister will acquit himself as to these two marks of the true *Church* so solemn in the whole *Protestant* Party. It is true, says he, *we lay them down: we*, that is to say, we *Protestants*: but for my part, *I would give the thing*, proceeds he, *another turn, and would say, that to know the Body of the Christian and universal Church in general, there is but one mark requisite*; viz. *the Confession of the name of Jesus Christ the true* Messias *and Redeemer of Mankind.* LXIII. The two marks of a true Church given by *Protestants* are sufficiently to be seen amongst us. *Ibid. p.* 25. *Sup. p.* 214. *Ibid.*

This is not all; for after having found the marks of the Body of the universal Church, *it is necessary to find those of the soul, to the end you may know, in what part of this Church God preserves his Elect.* Here it is, answers the Minister, that we must *return to our two marks, pure Preaching and pure Administration of the Sacraments.* But beware you be not deceived; *this is not to be taken in a strict sense.* To have the essence of a *Church*, the preaching is sufficiently pure when the fundamental truths are preserved, what error soever be superadded; the Sacraments are sufficiently pure, notwithstanding *the additions*: let us add, following the aforesaid principle, notwithstanding the substractions *which spoil them*: forasmuch as, in the midst of all this, the foundation subsists, and *God applies to his Elect what good there is, hindering what is* *Prop. p.* 25. *Ibid.*

of human institution, from turning to their prejudice and destruction. Conclude we therefore with this Minister, that nothing of whatever has been said on this subject in the *Confession* of Faith, must be taken in a strict sense; and moreover, that the Church of *Rome* (*Lutherans* and *Calvinists* calm your hatred) the Church of *Rome*, I say, so much hated and so much condemn'd, unique of all your *Confessions* of Faith and all your reproaches, may glory in having, in a very true sense as far as is necessary to form the children of God, *the pure Preaching of the Word, and the right Administration of the Sacraments.*

LXIV. The Confession of Faith, being a very true one, any Author, and the Minister.

If it be said, these favourable interpretations of the *Confessions* of Faith are quite opposite to, and destroy the Text; that for instance, what is there said of the Church of *Rome*, that truth is *hinder'd from her, the Sacraments either falsified or abolish'd and mutilated*, and properly speaking, *that we have no such thing as a Church among her*; are far different things from what we have just heard from our Ministers: I own as much; but the reason in short is, they have found by experience that there is no longer any possibility of maintaining their *Confessions* of Faith, to wit, the foundations of the *Reformation*. Nor indeed is it a less truth, that in the main, little are the Ministers concern'd about them, and 'tis only from a point of honour that they give themselves any pains to answer in their behalf; which was the case of the Minister *Jurieu*'s twenty, the abortive answers, more manfully and better intitled to be true, than sincere and bold.

LXV. The Author [illegible]

Now to maintain this new Sublime language is impossible, [illegible] without any [illegible] and not to be marvelled at any [illegible]. Altho' men be [illegible] against one another even as [illegible] they are [illegible]

one Body in *Jesus Christ*. If any one rebel against the Church, and scandalize her, either by his crimes or his errors, one would think by excommunicating him, he is cut off from the Body of the *Church* in general, and thus have *Protestants* spoken as well as we: 'tis a mistake; this scandalous and this heretical person is cut off but from one particular flock, and do what you will, remains a member of the *Catholick* Church by the sole profession of the Christian name: notwithstanding that *Jesus Christ* hath pronounced, *If any one neglect to hear the Church, look upon him*, not as a man that is cut off from a particular flock, and who remains in the great one of the *Church* in general, but look upon him *as an Heathen and a Publican*, as an alien from *Christianity*, as a man that hath no longer any part with God's people.

LXVI. Manifest contradiction between the notions of the Minister in regard of Excommunication.

Further, what Mr. *Jurieu* here advances is a particular opinion wherein he evidently contradicts his own *Church*. A *national* Synod hath defined Excommunication in these terms: *to excommunicate*, say they, *is to cut a man off from the Body of the Church like a rotten member, and to deprive him of her Communion and all her benefits*. And in the proper form of Excommunication the people are thus address'd: *We remove this rotten member from the Society of the faithful, that he may be to you as an Heathen and a Publican*. Mr. *Jurieu* spares no pains to embroil this matter with his distinctions of Sentence *Declaratory* and sentence *Juridical*; Sentence, which cuts off from the Body of the Church, and Sentence, which cuts off only from a particular confederation. He invents these distinctions only that the Reader may lose himself in the maze of these subtilties, nor perceive he is fed with empty sound. For when all is said,

he never will be able to ſhew, in the pretended-Reformed Churches, any other Excommunication, ſeparation, lopping off, than the above-mention'd; nor can one depart more expreſly from it, than does Mr. *Jurieu.* He pronounces, and repeats in a hundred places and a hundred different ways, that *it's impoſſible to* [illegible] *a man from the univerſal Church*; and his *Church* ſays on the contrary, that the excommunicated perſon muſt be look'd upon as a *Heathen* who no longer appertains to God's people. Mr. *Jurieu* proceeds: *All Excommunication* [illegible] *made by a particular Church, and* [illegible] *but an expulſion from a particular Church*; and we ſee, according to the rules of his Religion, that a particular *Church* ſevers a man from the Body of the *Church* as [illegible] *member*, which doubtleſs no longer cleaves to any part of the Body after it is once divided from it.

Syſt. p. [illegible] &c.

Ibid.

LXVII. Let us, nevertheleſs, conſider again, what be their particular Churches and their particular Bodies, from which he ſuppoſes men ſeparated by Excommunication. The Miniſter explains himſelf by this principle: [illegible]

ans, were they under no external band with the other *Churches*, and had they not right to communicate with them? This is not the notion they have formerly given us of Christian fraternity. All that are *Orthodox* have a right to communicate with an *Orthodox* Church; all that are *Catholick*, to wit all members of the *Church* universal, with the whole *Church*. All those, who bear the mark of the children of God, have a right to be admitted where ever they find the table of their common Father, provided their manners be approved: but here comes one to disturb this fine order; you are no longer in Society, *but by accident*; Christian fraternity is changed into arbitrary confederacies which you may extend at will, more or less, according to the different *Confessions* of Faith agreed upon. These *Confessions* of Faith are treaties in which you insert whatever you please. Some have put in them, *that they are to teach the verities of Grace as expounded by St.* Austin, and these, we are told, are the pretended-*Reform'd* Churches: far from truth; no body is less, in their Doctrine, than St. *Austin*; yet they are pleased to say so. These men are not allow'd to be *Semipelagians*, *and the* Swiss, *no less than those of* Geneva, *would exclude them from their Communions*. As for those who have not made the like convention they shall be *Semipelagians*, if they list. What is still more, those who have enter'd into the confederacy of *Geneva* and that of the pretended-*Reformed*, where one thinks he is obliged to maintain the Grace of St. *Austin*, *may depart from the agreement*; but then they must be contented to be separated *from a confederation* whose laws they have violated, and *where one would tolerate* every *where else*, can be no longer tolerated in

Ibid. p. 254.

Ibid.

Ibid. 259.

Ibid. 254.

in thoſe flocks in which other conventions had been made.

LXVIII. Indepen-dent in [illegible] — *Jurieu.* [illegible] 15. p. 547.

But what will become of theſe men who break the agreement of the *Calviniſt* Reformation, or of ſome ſuch other like confederacy? Shall they be then obliged to enter into league with ſome other *Church?* No ſuch thing: *It is not neceſſary, when you ſeparate yourſelf from one Church, to ſeek out another to adhere to.* I am aware he is forced to ſay ſo, becauſe otherwiſe he could not excuſe the *Proteſtant* Churches, which, on their ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*, were not able to find on earth a *Church* they could embrace. But we muſt hear the reaſon which authorizes ſuch a ſeparation. *It is*, continues Mr. *Jurieu*, *becauſe all Churches are naturally free and independent of one another*; or, as he explains it in another place, *naturally and originally all Churches are independent.*

Here is exactly our Doctrine, will ſay the *Independents*; we are the true Chriſtians that defend this primitive and natural liberty of *Churches*. Yet *Charenton* hath nevertheleſs condemn'd them in 1644. Therefore by anticipation hath alſo condemn'd Mr. *Jurieu*, who maintains them: but let us hear the Decree. *Whereas it has been repreſented, that many who call themſelves Independents, becauſe they teach, that every Church ought to govern itſelf by its own laws without* ANY DEPENDENCE *on any body in Church-matters, and free from any obligation of acknowledging the authority of Colloquies and Synods in their conduct and government*, that is, without any confederation with any other Church whatſoever; and this is exactly the caſe of Mr. *Jurieu*. But the Synod's Aſſertion is [illegible]

Ib. [illegible] 118.

ought to be dreaded, lest this poison insensibly diffusing itself, should create, say they, *disorder and confusion amongst us, should open a gate to all kind of irregularities and extravagancies, and make void all means of applying a remedy*; which would be equally *prejudicial to Church and State, and give room to form as many Religions as there are Parishes and particular Assemblies.* And Mr. *Jurieu* concludes on the contrary, that by separating from one *Church* without adhering to another, you do nothing but retain *the liberty and independence*, which *naturally and originally* belongs to *Churches*, namely that liberty which *Jesus Christ*, at their formation, bestow'd upon them.

LXIX. All authority and Subordination of Churches depend on Princes. *Innocent.* 546.

Accordingly, there is no way of maintaining, conformably to the principles of this Minister, these Conferences and Synods. For he supposes, in case a *Catholick* Kingdom should divide itself from *Rome*, and then subdivide itself into many Sovereignties, that each Prince might make *a Patriarch*, and establish, in his state, a government absolutely independent of that of its neighbouring states *without appeal*, without union, without correspondence; for all that, in his notion, depends on the Prince; and 'tis for this reason that he makes the first confederation of Churches depend on the unity of the *Roman* Empire. But if this be so, his Uncle *Louis du Moulin* gains his cause: for he pretends that all this subordination of Conferences and Synods (if you consider it as Ecclesiastical and Spiritual) is nothing else but *Popery* in disguise, and the ushering in of *Antichrist*; consequently, that there is no power in this distribution of *Churches* but from the Sovereign's authority; and that Excommunications and Degradations made by Synods, whether Provincial or National, have

Pag. 1. Ed. Lud. Mol.

no

no authority but from thence. But by a little further extension of this argument, the Excommunications of *Consistories* will appear no more effectual than those of *Synods*; so that, either there will be no Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the *Independents* are in the right, or, it will be lodged in the Prince's hands, and mine, *Lewis du Moulin* must have converted his Nephew who so long opposed his errors.

LXX. *The true Church Union.*

See what this System comes to, wherein the whole solution of this difficulty, about the Church, is placed; it is matter of astonishment to hear these novelties. What an error to imagine, there is no external Union between Christian *Churches*, but dependently on Princes, or by some other *arbitrary and voluntary confederation*; and not be sensible that *Jesus Christ* hath obliged his faithful to live in a *Church*, to wit, as is own'd, in an exterior Society, and to communicate with one another, not only in the same Faith and the same sentiments, but also, when they meet, in the same Sacraments and the same Services; insomuch that, however distant *Churches* be, yet are they but the same *Church* distributed into divers places, the diversity of places not hindering the unity of the holy table, whereat all communicate one with another, as they do with *Jesus Christ* their common Head?

Let us now consider the origin of this new System, which we have just now taken a view of. Its Author *Godfrey*, perhaps, as he does in other points, of [illegible] on the [illegible] and it's [illegible] which [illegible] *Church* [illegible] and the [illegible] Communion [illegible] [illegible] it was [illegible] *Jesus* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Bishops, are the Authors of it: it pass'd over into *Africa* where St. *Cyprian*, so illustrious a Martyr and the light of the Church, embraced it with the whole Council of *Africa*; and 'twas this cruel opinion which made them rebaptize all Hereticks, no other reason for it being alledged by them, but that Hereticks were not of the *Catholick* Church.

It must be own'd, St. *Cyprian* made use of this bad argument: *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* are not of the Body of the *Catholick* Church: therefore they ought to be rebaptized at their coming to it. But Mr. *Jurieu* would not have the assurance to say, that the principle of the *Church*'s Unity, abused by St. *Cyprian*, was as new as the consequence he drew from it, since this Minister acknowledges that the *false idea of the Church's Unity was form'd on the history of the two first ages down to the midst, or end, of the third. We must not wonder*, continues he, that the *Church* accounted all the Sects in being, during those times, *as intirely separated from the Body of the Church, for that was true*; and he adds, it was at that time, namely in the two first ages down to the middle of the third, *that they got a habit of believing that Hereticks did not in any manner appertain to the Church*: so that the Doctrine of St. *Cyprian*, which he accuses of Novelty, nay, of Tyranny, was a *habit* contracted ever since the two first ages of the *Church*, that is, from the first beginning of Christianity.

It must no less be own'd, that this Doctrine of St. *Cyprian*, concerning the Unity of the *Church*, was not invented on occasion of rebaptizing Heretic[illegible] reason that the book *concerning the* [illegible], where in the Doctrine excluding [illegible] Schismaticks is so clearly laid

laid down, did precede the dispute of rebaptization; so that St. *Cyprian* enter'd naturally into this Doctrine consequently to the tradition of the two foregoing ages.

Nor is it less certain, that the whole *Church* had embraced this Doctrine equally with him, long before the dispute of rebaptizing. For this dispute began under St. *Stephen* Pope. Now, before this, and not only in the time of St. *Lucius* his Predecessor, but also from the beginning of St. *Cornelius*'s Pontificate Predecessor to St. *Lucius*, *Novatian* and his followers had been look'd upon as separated from the Communion of all the Bishops and *Churches* of the world, altho' they had not renounced the profession of *Christianity*, nor overthrown any fundamental Article. From that time therefore, even those that preserved the *fundamentals*, if under other pretexts they broke Unity, were accounted separated from the universal *Church*.

Epist. Cyp. ad Antonian. &c.

Thus is it an unquestionable fact, that the Doctrine impugn'd by Mr. *Jurieu* was received by the whole *Church*, not only before the quarrel about Rebaptization, but even from the first origin of Christianity; and was made use of by St. *Cyprian*, not as a new foundation which he gave to his error, but as a common principle agreed to all the world over.

LXII. The Minister had the presumption to say, that the ideas of the *Church* are the same with those of the *Nicen* Council, and concludes, that this Holy Council did not reject all Heretics from the Communion of the *Church*, because it did not constrain all of them to be rebaptized, neither requiring this in regard of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*, nor of the *Donatists*, nor of the rest that retain'd the foundation of Faith, but only of the *Paulianists*, namely the followers of

The Minister pretends that the Church, after the Council of Nice, admitted Heretics without Baptism.

Epist. 1.

Pau-

Paul of *Samosata*, who denied the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But waving other arguments, the Minister needs but hear himself, to be convicted. He speaks of the Council of *Nice as of the most universal ever held*; but which, nevertheless, was not altogether so, since *the great assemblies of the* Novatians *and* Donatists *were not call'd to it*. I desire no more than this Confession to conclude, that consequently they were not accounted, at that time as Part of the universal *Church*, since there was not so much as the least thought of calling them to the Council expresly conven'd to represent her. *Hist. Trac.*

And in fact, let us hear how this Council speaks of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*: *those*, says the Council, *when they shall come to the Catholick Church*. Enough said: the dispute is ended: *In* the Church, therefore, they could not be. Nor does it speak in other terms of the *Paulianists* whose Baptism it condemns: *as for the* Paulianists, *when they ask to be received into the Catholick Church*: see again: *in it*, therefore, they were not, according to the notion of these Fathers, and the Minister agrees therein. But, that he may no longer presume to say, that those whose *Baptism* is received, are in the *Catholick Church*, and not those, whose *Baptism* is rejected; the Council puts out of the Church no less those whose Baptism it approves, as the *Novatians*, than those whom it makes be rebaptized, as the *Paulianists*: by consequence, the difference did not at all depend on those being reputed members of the *Catholick Church*, and not these. *Conc. Nic. Can. viii.* *Can. xix.*

As much must be said of the *Donatists*, the Council of *Nice* neither admitting of their Communion nor their Bishops; on the contrary, receiving to its Sessions *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*

thage from whom the *Donatists* had separated. The Council therefore look'd upon the *Donatists* as separated from the *universal* Church.

Let the Minister now come and tell us, that the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council are of his opinion, or that their Doctrine was new, or that, when they pronounced against the *Arians* this sentence: *The Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church anathematizes them*: they left them fellow-members of this same *Catholick Church*, and did but banish them from a voluntary and arbitrary confederation, which they might extend more or less according to their fancy: such discourses ought to appear nothing less than prodigies.

LXXIII. The Minister condemnd by the Creed which he receives. *Creed of Nice. Const.*

The Minister counts amongst the Symbols received by the whole world that of the Apostles, that of *Nice*, and that of *Constantinople*. We are agreed, indeed, that these three *Creeds* make but one, and that the Apostles *Creed* is but explain'd by that of the two first *Oecumenick* Councils. We have seen the sentiments of the Council of *Nice*. The Council of *Constantinople* proceeds on the same principles, in that it banishes all Sects from its Unity: whence it concludes in its letter to all the Bishops, *that the Body of the Church is not divided*: and it was conformably to this same spirit that it had in its Creed: *I believe One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church*, adding the word, *One*, to those, *Holy* and *Catholick* which were in the Symbol of the Apostles, and thus explaining it by that of *Ephesus*, in order to shew, that this distinct and perfectly *One* Church, upon which all Sects, was that which was [illegible] by the Apostles.

LXXIV. The Minister [illegible]

The gentleman Minister expects here to know, what this hard Mark which is [illegible] of the Apostolick Church, and [illegible] *I believe in One Church*. [illegible] had been

been believed, and even in the *Reformation*, that this *Creed*, so unanimously received by all Christians, was an Abridgment, and as a Summary of the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Scripture. But the Minister assures the quite contrary: for after deciding that the Apostles were not the Authors of it, he will not even grant, what none else denied till now, that at least, it was made wholly according to their spirit. He says therefore, *that we must look for the sense of the articles of the Creed, not in the Scripture, but in the intention of those who composed it.* But, proceeds he, the *Creed* was not made all at once: the article, *I believe the Catholick Church, was added in the fourth age.* What does this reasoning tend to else, but to prepare himself a refuge against the *Creed*, and give it only the authority of the fourth age? Whereas, all Christians to this time, have held it for a common *Confession* of Faith, of all ages, and of all Christian Churches, from the Apostles days.

of the Apostles Creed.

Preface, p. 27, 28. Gloss. p. 217.

But let us see, nevertheless, in what manner he will define the *Catholick* Church conformably to the Creed. He at once rejects the definition which he imputes to *Catholicks*; nor does he approve more of that which he attributes to *Protestants*. For his part, who no less raises himself above his Brethren the *Protestants*, than above his Adversaries the *Catholicks*, being to define the *Church* of all times, he does it thus: *'tis the Body of those who make profession of believing Jesus Christ the true* Messias; *a Body divided into a great number of Sects*; he must add besides, which excommunicate one another, to the end that all anathematiz'd Heresies, nay, all Schismaticks, tho' divided from their Brethren, *even in dagger drawing*, to use the Minister's expression, may have the happiness of being in the *Church* ex-

LXXV. A new Gloss of the Minister on the Apostles Creed.

Prep. p. 29. Ibid.

press'd by the *Creed*, and in the Christian unity it teaches us. This is what men are bold enough to say in the *Reformation*, and the kingdom of *Jesus Christ* carries among them, in its proper definition, the character of the division whereby every kingdom, as says the Gospel, *is brought to desolation*.

LXXVI. The Minister should at least have call'd to mind the *Catechism*, which he himself taught at Paris so many years, wherein, after reciting, *I believe the Catholick Church*, it concludes, *that out of the Church, there is nothing but Damnation and Death, and that all those, who separate themselves from the community of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not to hope Salvation.* It is very certain, that the *Church* here spoken of, is the universal *Church*: therefore, in respect to her, one may make a Sect apart, one may separate himself from her Unity. I ask, whether in this place to make *a Sect apart*, be a word that implies Apostacy? Is it necessary for him, that makes a Sect apart, to put on a Turbant, and publickly renounce his Baptism? Do men speak thus? Should they speak thus, in a Catechism, to an innocent child, on purpose to confound all his ideas, and that he may no longer know what to stick to?

The Catechism taught by him, which he explain'd, the Catechism of the Pope, Pius IV.

LXXVII. Methinks I labour for the Salvation of souls, by continuing the recital of this Minister's errors, so most exorbitant and palpable that the distance of a hair cannot hath performance ever call man into. What he was forced to invent in support of the System, is full more strange, impossible, and more unheard of than the System itself. It was necessary for him to perplex all the ideas with which the Scripture furnishes us. It speaks to us of the system of *Jeroboam* as of a detestable division, which began by a revolt, which maintain'd itself by a down right [illegible]

adoring calves of gold, so far even as to forsake the *Ark* of the Covenant, insine, to renounce the law of *Moses*, to cast off the Priesthood of *Aaron* and the whole Levitical Ministry, to consecrate false *Priests of the high places and of Devils*. Yet must it be said nevertheless, that these *Schismaticks*, these *Hereticks*, these *Apostates* from the law, these *Idolaters*, made part of God's people. That the seven thousand whom God had reserved to himself, and the remainder of the Elect in *Israel*, adher'd to the Schism. That the Prophets of the Lord communicated with these Schismaticks and Idolaters, and broke off from *Juda* which was the place that God hath chosen; and a Schism aggravated with such circumstances, ought not, it seems, to be counted *amongst those sins which destroy Grace*. If this be true, the whole Scripture must be nothing but delusion and the most excessive exaggeration that can be found in all human language. But then, what must be said to the Texts alledged by Mr. *Jurieu?* Any thing, rather than to own so enormous a Doctrine, and to place manifest *Idolaters* in the Communion of God's children, for this is no proper place for a deeper research into this subject.

2 Paralip. xi. 15.

Syst. l. 1. *ch.* 13.

Ibid. ch. 20. *p.* 153.

LXXVIII. The Church, in the Apostles time, is accused of Schism and Heresy.

No more does the *Christian* than the *Jewish* Church escape the hands of this Minister. He attacks her in her prime and vigour, even in those happy days when she was govern'd by the Apostles. For, if we believe him, the converted *Jews*, namely the greatest part of the *Church*, there being *so many thousands of them*, according to St *James*'s testimony, and undoubtedly its most noble part, since it comprehended those on whom the rest *were grafted*; the stock *and holy root whence the fatness of the good olive* was derived to the wild branches, were Hereticks and Schismaticks, nay, guilty of a Heresy

Heat. ch. 14. *p.* 21. *p.* 167. *Acts* xxi. *Rom.* xi. 17. &c.

[illegible] of which St. *Paul* hath said, *it destroy'd Grace and render'd Christ of no effect to them.* The rest of the *Church*, to wit, those who came from *Heathenism*, partook of the Schism and Heresy by consenting to it, and by acknowledging those as holy and Brethren in *Jesus Christ*, who entertain'd in their minds so strange a Heresy, and in their hearts, so criminal a jealousy; and the Apostles themselves were the most Heretical and Schismatical of all, for conniving at such crimes and errors. Such is the idea he gives us of the *Christian* Church under the Apostles, when the Blood of *Jesus Christ* was, as I may say, still reeking, his Doctrine reeth in their minds, the spirit of *Christianity* in its full strength. What an opinion will the impious have of the *Church* in her progress, if those so much extoll'd beginnings be grounded on Heresy and Schism; nay, if corruption even reach to those who had the first fruits of the Spirit?

It seem'd as if our Minister was for excluding the *Sectaries*, at least from the Communion of God's people, he having so frequently said, that they impugn directly the fundamental truths, and that those being subverted, such Societies are dead and can raise no children to Almighty God. But all this was nothing but sham, this Minister would heartily despise whoever should be deluded by it.

And indeed the principal foundation of his Doctrine is, *that [illegible] God [illegible] provided in any country [illegible] regard to some people.* As thus, very certainly, the word of God [illegible] provided [illegible] the Ministers [illegible] nothing to the principles, that [illegible] as [illegible] God [illegible] Land, [illegible]

mortal Herefies of that Sect, as he found means heretofore of preferving, in Arianifm, *a number of elect and virtuous fouls untainted with the* Arian *Herefy.*

And if the *Socinians*, in the ftate they are in at prefent, cannot contain in their body the Elect of God, 'tis not on account of their perverfe Doctrine, but, *for that, they being in fmall numbers, and difperfed up and down without making a figure in the world, and in moft places, having not fo much as an affembly; it is not neceffary to fuppofe that God faves any of them.* Nevertheless, fince it is certain the *Socinians* have had Churches in *Poland*, and have at this day in *Transylvania*, one might ask of the Minister, what is the number requifite to *make a figure?* But be that as it will, according to him, it depends only on Princes to give children of God to all Societies whatfoever, by giving them affemblies; and if the Devil complete his work; if taking men on that fide their fenfes bias to, and by that means, multiplying *Socinians* in the world, he alfo find means of procuring them a more free and extenfive exercife of their Religion, he will compel *Jefus Christ* to form his *Elect* amongft them.

The Minister will anfwer doubtlefs, that if he fays, you may be faved in the Communion of *Socinians*, 'tis not by the way of *Toleration*, but by that of *Difcernment* and Separation; that is, to fay, it is not by prefuppofing, God tolerates *Socinianifm* as he does other Sects which have preferved the foundation, but, on the contrary, by prefuppofing that there the *Socinian* alfo learns difcerning the good from the evil in the Doctrine of this Sect, will reject in their hearts, what is blafphemous therein, altho' they remain united therewith exteriorly.

But take his answer which way you will, it's equally full of impiety. For in the first place, this makes him inconsistent with himself in respect to the toleration of those who deny the Divinity of the Son of God, since he extends this toleration even to the *Arians*: *to damn*, says he, *all those numberless Christians, who lived in the external Communion of* Arianism, *some whereof detested its tenets, others were ignorant of them, some* TOLERATED THEM IN THE SPIRIT OF PEACE, *others held their tongues thro' fear and authority: to damn*, I say, *all these people, is the opinion of an executioner, and becoming the cruelty of Popery.* In this manner, Mr. *Jurieu* extends his mercy, not to those only who remain'd in the Communion of *Arians* being ignorant of their sentiments, but to those also who knew them; and not only to those who knowing and detesting them in their hearts, did not blame them *thro' fear*, but also to those who *tolerated them in the Spirit of Peace*; namely, to those, who judged that denying the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, was a tolerable Doctrine. What then hinders his tolerating, *in the Spirit of Peace*, even the *Socinians* as he tolerates the rest, and extending his Charity so far even as to save them?

Pref. p. 22.

But altho' the Minister should repent himself of having carried his toleration to this excess, and would save but those only in the *Socinian* Communion that should heartily detest their sentiments, his Doctrine would be never the better for that, since in short, he must always save those, who, conscious of the *Socinian* tenets, should nevertheless remain in their external Communion, that is, frequent their assemblies, join in their prayers and worship, be present at their sermons with an exterior like to that of others who pass for

for men of that Communion. If this dissimulation be lawful, no longer do we know what is hypocrisy, nor what this sentence means, *Depart from the tents of the wicked.* Vers. 22. 26.

Should now the Minister reply, that those who frequent the *Socinian* assemblies in this manner, ought so to direct their intention as to partake only of that which is good amongst them, namely, of the *Unity* of God and the Mission of *Jesus Christ*; this is a still greater absurdity, since, in this sense, there would be likewise no difficulty of living in the Communion of *Jews* and *Turks*: for you need but persuade yourself, you partake only with them in the belief of God's *Unity*, detesting in your heart, without uttering a word, all they speak impiously against *Jesus Christ*: and should it be said, that it's enough to incur damnation to make your usual worship in an assembly where *Jesus Christ* is blasphem'd, the *Socinians*, blasphemers of his Divinity and so many others his sacred truths, are no better than they.

LXXXI. The succession which the Minister gives to Religion, in common with all Heresies.

Such are the absurdities of this new System: it was not the product of free choice, for no man takes pleasure in making himself ridiculous by advancing such paradoxes. But one false step draws on another: nor would he have plunged into this excess, but for others he had fallen into before. The *Reformation* had fallen into the excess of separating herself, not only from the *Church* in which she had received her Baptism, but also from all other Christian *Churches*. In this state, urged to answer where the *Church* was before the time of these *Reformers*, she could not keep to one constant language, and iniquity gave herself the lye. At last, quite nonplus'd, and little satisfied with all the answers hitherto made in our days, she thought to extricate her-

Sect. I. Of the Succession of the Church.

Anno Dom. 1717.

felf by faying, *it is not of* particular *Societies*, of *Lutherans* of *Calvinifts*, you fhould ask for the *Vifible* fucceffion of their Doctrine and Paftors; it being true, *they were not as yet formed two hundred years ago*; granting this, yet the univerfal *Church*, whereof their Sects make a part, was vifible in *the Communions of which Chriftianity was compofed*, viz. *that of the* Greeians, *of the* Abyffins, *of the* Armenian, *and* Latins, which is all the fucceffion there is occafion for. Here is the laft refuge; this their whole folution. But all kind of Sects, they muft allow, may fay the fame. There is not any, nor ever was, to take in each of them no more than the common profeffion of Chriftianity, which does not find its particular fucceffion as our Minifter has found his; fo that, to give a decent and an always vifible Perpetuity to his *Church*, he was forced to lavith the fame favour on the moft novel and impious Societies.

LXXXII. The Minister at the same time fixes and [illegible] with the [illegible]tion to the perpetual Visibility of the Church.

Sect. I. Of the Succession of the Church.

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The greatft affront that can be done to truth, is to corrupt it, and at the fame time, to abandon, or undermine it. Mr. *Jurieu* has owned great truths: in the firft place, *that the Church is taken in Scripture for a Church always vifible*; *nay I go*, fays he, *further in this than Mr.* Meaux. With all my heart; what I had faid was fufficient: but fince he will allow as much, I receive it from him.

Secondly, he agrees, that it cannot be denied, *That the Church, which the Creed speaks of, is a vifible Church*.

This was enough to demonftrate the perpetual Vifibility of the *Church*, becaufe that, which is believed in the *Creed*, is certainly and infallibly true. But to take off there may be no doubt that this Article of our Faith is grounded on the express promises of [illegible] Mr

nister grants us moreover, that the *Church*, to which *Jesus Christ* had promised that hell should not prevail against her, was *a confessing Church, a Church which publishes the Faith with St.* Peter, *a Church by consequence, always exterior and visible*; which he carries on so far as to declare without more ado, that he, *who should have the Faith without the profession of the Faith, would not be of the Church.* Ibid. 215. Ibid. p. 2.

'Tis this also that makes him say, *it is essential to the Christian Church to have a Ministry.* Equally with Mr. *Claude*, he approves of our inferring from these words of our Saviour, Teach, baptize, and lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world; *that there will be teachers with whom Jesus Christ shall teach, and that true preaching never shall cease in the Church.* He says as much of the Sacraments, and is agreed that *the band of Christians by means of the Sacraments, is essential to the Church; that there is no true Church without the Sacraments*; whence he concludes, that it is necessary *to have the Essence* and Foundation, to be Members of the Body of the Church. Rest. l. iii. ch. 15. p. 549. &c. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Ibid. p. 222, 229. P. 535, 545.

From all these express passages, the Minister concludes with us, that the *Church is always visible, necessarily visible*, and what is more remarkable, visible not only *as to its Body*, but also, *as to its Soul*, as he terms it, because, says he, *when I see Christian Societies, wherein Doctrine conformable to the word of God is preserved as much as is necessary for the essence of a Church, I know and see for certain, that there are Elect in it, since, wherever are the fundamental truths, they are salutary to some people.* P. [illegible] ch. 2. p. 21. [illegible] Rest. l. [illegible] 211.

After this chain of Doctrine which the Minister confirms by so many express passages; one might think, nothing could be better settled in his

his mind, from Scriptures, from the promises of *Jesus Christ*, from the *Creed* of the Apostles, than the perpetual *Visibility* of the Church; and yet he says the contrary, not by consequence, but in formal terms: for he says, at the same time, that this perpetual Visibility of the *Church*, *is not to be found by those proofs which are call'd of right*, that is, by Scripture, as he explains it, *otherwise than by supposing that God always preserves to himself a hidden number of the faithful, a Church, as we may say, subterraneous and unknown to the whole earth; the which would be as well the Body of Jesus Christ, his Spouse and his Kingdom, as a known Church; and infine, that the promises of Jesus Christ would remain inviolate, tho' the Church should have fallen into so great an obscurity, as that it were impossible to point out and say, there is the true Church, and there does God preserve the Elect.*

Preface 21. 22. &c. [illegible] p. 221.

What then becomes of that express acknowledgment, that the *Church* in the Scripture is always *Visible*, that the promises she hath received from *Jesus Christ*, for her perpetual duration, are address'd to a *visible Church*, to a Church that publishes her Faith, to a Church which hath the Keys and a Ministry, to whom the Ministry is essential, and which no longer is a *Church*, if the profession of Faith be wanting to her? This we are at a loss to know: the Minister thinks he solves all by telling us, that for his part, he truly believes the *Church* always Visible, and that she hath ever been so, may be proved from history. Who sees not what he drives at? Namely in a word, that in case it happens, a *Protestant* should be forced to own according to his tenets, that the *Church* had ceased to be *Visible*, at most he would only have granted a fact, and not overturn the promises of *Jesus Christ*. But this

[illegible] Preface 22.

is putting us on the wrong scent in too gross a manner. The question in hand is not whether the *Church*, by good luck, hath always remain'd to this day in her Visibility, but whether she hath promises of continuing for ever in it; nor, whether Mr. *Jurieu* believes it, but whether Mr. *Jurieu* has written that all Christians are obliged to believe it as a truth from God, and as a fundamental article couch'd in the *Creed*. Most certainly he has written it, as we have seen: as clearly does he deny it, as we have also seen; and he goes on demonstrating, that the question touching the *Church* involves the Ministers in such a disorder, that they know not which way to turn themselves, and if they can but meet with an evasion, 'tis all they aim at.

LXXXIII Vain distinction betwixt errors.

But not one is left them, provided they follow but never so little the principles which they have granted: for if the *Church* be *Visible* and always *Visible* by the Confession of the truth; if *Jesus Christ* hath promised she should be so eternally; it is more clear than day that it is not allowable to depart one moment from her Doctrine: the same as to say in other terms, that she is Infallible. The consequence is very plain, in that, departing from the Doctrine of her who always teaches truth, would be too manifestly declaring enmity to truth itself: again, nothing can be more clear and distinct than this.

Let us consider, nevertheless, what method the Ministers have used to ward off this stroke. *Jesus Christ* hath promised, say they, a perpetual Ministry, yet not a Ministry always pure: the essence of the Ministry shall subsist in the *Church*, because the foundations will be retain'd; but what shall be added to these, will corrupt it: which makes Mr. *Claude* to say, that the Ministry will never come to a subtraction of a

fundamental

fundamental truth, such as is seen, for example, in *Socinianism*, which rejects the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. But that there is not a like inconvenience in corrupting, by a addition, wholesome truths as the Church of *Rome* hath done; because the *fundamentals* of Salvation still subsist.

Pursuant to the same principles, Mr. *Jurieu* is agreed, that *Jesus Christ* has promised *there shall be teachers with whom he will be, so far that true preaching shall never cease in his Church*; but he distinguishes: there always shall be teachers with whom *Jesus Christ* will be, in the *fundamental* truths, he grants it; but that there never shall be errors in this Ministry, he denies it: so, *true preaching shall never cease in the Church*: we own it, answers he, *if by true preaching is understood a preaching which announces the essential and fundamental truths*: we deny it, *if by true preaching is understood that contains no kind of error*.

To dispel all these mists, there needs no more than to ask these men, where it is they have learnt to put a restriction on the promises of *Jesus Christ*? He that is able to prevent corruptions, why must he not be able to prevent dangerous additions? What certainty therefore have they, that preaching shall be more pure, the Ministry more prevailed with regard to *corruptions*, than to *Additions*? This word, *I am with you*, supposes an universal protection to those with whom *Jesus Christ* dwells. If the institution of an external and visible Ministry is the work of men, it may be equally [illegible] from it [illegible] of *Jesus Christ*'s [illegible] promised to be [illegible] [illegible] no longer [illegible] [illegible]

LXXXIV. Consequently visible preaching [illegible]

[illegible]

And assuredly it is impossible, agreeing, as they do, that *Jesus Christ* has promised his *Church* that the truth should always be taught in her, and that he would eternally abide with the Ministers of this same *Church*, in order to teach with them; it is, I say, impossible he should not have meant to say, that the truth, he promised to preserve in her, should be pure and such as reveal'd by him; there being nothing more ridiculous than to make him promise, he would always teach the truth with such as, retaining a foundation of it, were to overwhelm this foundation, nay destroy it, as is supposed, with their errors, by the inevitable consequence of their Doctrine. LXXXV. Strange way of securing the promises of *Jesus Christ*.

And in reality, I leave the *Protestants* to judge, whether these magnificent promises of rendering the *Church* immovable in the visible profession of the truth, be fulfil'd in the state, which the Minister hath represented to us by these words: *We say, that the Church is perpetually visible, but the greatest part of the time, and* ALMOST ALWAYS, *she is more visible by the corruption of her manners, by the addition of many* FALSE TENETS, *by the decay of her Ministry,* BY HER ERRORS AND HER SUPERSTITIONS, *than by the truths she does preserve.* If such be the Visibility which *Christ* has promised to his *Church*, if it be thus he promises, that the truth shall always be taught in her, there is no Sect, tho' never so impious, which may not glory that the promise of *Jesus Christ* is fulfil'd in her: and if *Jesus Christ* only promises to teach with all those that shall teach some truth, whatever error may be interwoven with it; he promises nothing more to his *Church* than to the *Socinians*, to the *Deists*, to *Atheists* themselves, since none of them are gone

Pag. 5. l. 11.

Matt. xvi. 18.

gone so far astray as not to retain some remnant of the truth.

LXXXVI. The Minister says, that the Universal Church teaches, and at the same time, does not teach. *Sup. p.* [illegible] *cap.* 20. *p.* 217, 218.

It is now easy to understand what we have inculcated so frequently, that the Article of the Creed, *I believe the Catholick and universal Church*, imports necessarily the belief of her *Infallibility*, and that there is no difference betwixt believing *the Catholick Church* and believing *In the Catholick Church*, to wit, by approving and assenting to her Doctrine.

The Minister rises up with contempt against this reasoning of Mr. *de Meaux*, and opposes it by two answers: the first is, that the *Universal* Church teaches nothing; the second, that, supposing she taught the truth, it would not follow that she taught it intirely pure.

But he contradicts himself in these two answers: in the first, in express terms, as I am going to shew; in the second, by the evident consequence of his principles, as will be shewn hereafter.

Let us then observe how he speaks in his first answer. *The universal Church*, says he, *mention'd in the Creed, cannot properly speaking, either teach, or preach the truth.* and I prove to him the contrary by his own words, he having said but two pages before, that the *Church* to wh[illegible] *Jesus Christ* promises an eternal subsistence by saying, *the gates of hell shall not prevail against her*, [illegible] *a confessing Church*, [illegible] *publish her Faith*: now this *Church* is undoubtedly the *Universal* Church and the same that the *Creed* speaks of: therefore the *Church Universal*, and mention'd in the *Creed*, confesses and publishes the truth; nor can it any longer be denied by this Minister without giving himself the lye, but that Church *does teach*, *does preach*, [illegible]

P. 218.

P. 215.

the truth, unless publishing and confessing be different from preaching to the whole Universe.

But let us dive further into this Minister's sentiments on this important subject. What he most repeats, what he most insists upon in his System is, that *the Church universal teaches nothing, decides nothing, hath never pass'd, nor will ever pass; nor will be able ever to pass, any judgment*; and that *to teach, to decide, to judge*, is the property of particular Churches.

LXXXIII. Sequel of the Minister's contradiction on this subject: that the Church Universal teaches and judges.

But this Doctrine is so false, that to see it convicted of error, no more is requisite than to continue on the reading of those places where it is asserted; for there you'll find, that *the subsisting Communions, and which make a figure, are the* Greeks, *the* Latins, *the* Protestants, *the* Abyssins, *the* Armenians, *the* Nestorians, *the* Russians. *I say that the consent of all these Communions in* TEACHING *certain verities, is a kind* OF JUDGMENT, *nay, of* INFALLIBLE JUDGMENT. These Communions therefore *teach*; and seeing these Communions, according to him, are the *Universal* Church, he cannot deny that the *Universal* Church doth teach; nor any more can he deny, that she judges in a certain sense, since he attributes to her *a kind of judgment*, which can be nothing less than a sentiment declared. Here is then, by the Confession of the Minister, a declared sentiment, and moreover, an *Infallible* sentiment of the *Church* he calls Universal.

Sup. p. 6. 218. 235. 234. 235. *Ibid.* 2[illegible].

He proceeds: *When the consent of the Universal Church is general in all ages as well as in all Communions, then I maintain, that this unanimous consent makes a demonstration.*

LXXXIV. By the Minister's Confession, the Church's sentiment is a certain rule of Faith in the most

This is not enough; this demonstration is grounded on the perpetual assistance which, according to him, God owes his *Church*: *God*, says he, CANNOT PERMIT *great Christian Sociétés*

[illegible] *[illegible] plung'd in mortal errors, nor to per-ſevere in [illegible] them.* And a little after: *It is not [illegible] that God ſhould ſo far have abandon'd the Catholic Church, that all Communions, in all ages, ſhould have unanimouſly remained the moſt deſperate errors.*

Thence it clearly follows, that the ſentiment of the *Catholic* Church is a certain rule of Faith, and the Miniſter makes the application of it to two the moſt important diſputes, which, in his own judgment, poſſibly can ariſe among Chriſtians. The firſt is that of the *Socinians*, which comprehends ſo many eſſential points: and thereupon, *the preſumption of the* Socinians, ſays he, *cannot be conſider'd otherwiſe, than as a prodigious temerity and a certain token of reprobation. For that, in the articles of Jeſus Chriſt's Divinity, the Trinity of Perſons, the Redemption, Satiſfaction, Original ſin, the Creation, Grace, Immortality of the ſoul, and eternity of torments, they have departed from the ſentiment of the whole univerſal Church.* Again therefore, the *Catholic* Church hath a ſentiment; her ſentiment carries along with it an [illegible] condemnation of the errors oppoſite thereunto, and ſerves as a rule for the deciſion of all fundamental articles.

Beſides this, there is another ſubject whereto the ſentiment ſtands for a rule: [illegible] MOST [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] and perp[illegible] [illegible] the Miniſter [illegible] [illegible]

the reading of this divine book is not necessary to the Believer in order to form his Faith, concludes at last, that *a simple woman who has learnt the Apostles Creed, and understood it in the sense of the universal Church* (withal keeping God's commandments) *shall be, perhaps, in a more sure way than the learned, who with so much ability contend about the difference of versions.*

There must be therefore an easy method of discovering what is believed by the *universal* Church, since this discovery is within the reach of a simple woman. There is a security in this knowledge so discover'd, since this simple woman relies upon and trusts to it; lastly, there is an intire sufficiency, since this woman has nothing to seek further, and fully instructed in her Faith, needs no otherwise to be concern'd, than how to live well. This belief is neither blind nor unreasonable, since it's founded on clear and sure principles; and in reality, when one is weak as we all are, 'tis the most excellent pitch of reason to know well, whom you may rely upon.

But let us push on this argument still further. That which makes an absolute Certainty in matter of Faith, a Certainty *of demonstration*, and *the last rule* to decide truths by, must be clearly grounded on the word of God. Now, this kind of *infallibility*, which the Minister attributes to the *universal* Church, imports a Certainty *absolute* and a Certainty *of demonstration*, and it is *the most sure rule* whereby to decide the most essential, and withal the most known truths: therefore it is clearly grounded on the word of God.

For the future therefore, when we shall urge the *Protestants* with the authority of the universal Church, should they object to us, that we follow the authority and tradition of men; [illegible]

Minister will confound them by saying with us, that following the Church *Universal*, is not following men, but God himself, who assists her by his Spirit.

XCI. The idea which the Minister forms to himself of the universal Church as he conceives it, is not agreeable with the sentiments of the universal Church.

It the Minister should answer, that we get nothing by this acknowledgment, because the *Church*, wherein he owns this *Infallibility*, is not ours, and that all Christian Communions enter into the notion which he gives of the *Church*: he will be no less confounded by his own principles, since he hath but just placed among the conditions of the true Faith, that the *Creed* be understood *in the sense of the universal Church*. We must therefore understand, *in this sense*, that Article of the *Creed*, which speaks of the *universal* Church herself. Now the universal *Church* never hath believed, that the *universal* Church was the aggregate of all Christian Sects: nor does the Minister find this notion in all places, or all times; on the contrary, he is agreed that the notion which reduces the *Church* to a perfect Unity, by excluding all Sects from her Communion, is of all ages, even of the three first: he has seen it in the two Councils whose *Creeds* he receives, namely, in that of *Nice* and in that of *Constantinople*. 'Tis not therefore in his sense, but in ours, that *the simple woman*, whom he makes to walk so surely in the way of Salvation, ought to understand these words in the Creed, *the Catholick or universal Church*; and when this good woman says, the Church of Christ, she is obliged to fix upon one certain Congregation, which God shall have distinguished from all the rest, and which contains in her Communion, that the Orthodox, a Communion which must be the true kingdom of God [illegible] particular [illegible] and opposite to the kingdom of Satan, whose character, as he has observed, [illegible] Delusion

Should

XCII. The Author proves the Church by the characteristicks, ascribed by him to the universal Church.

Should the Minister think to escape by answering that, supposing we had proved a Communion of this nature, we should still be nothing the nearer, it remaining yet to be proved, that this is our Communion; I own, before we come to that, there are still some steps to be taken: but in the mean while, and before we do this and force the Minister, according to his principles, to take these steps with us; we find already in his principles, whereby to reject his *Church*. For when he gave us for a rule that which the *universal* Church unanimously believes every where; lest he should comprehend the *Socinians* in this *universal* Church, whose authority he opposed against them, he reduced this Church to *Communions which are ancient and extensive*, exclusively of Sects which have neither of these advantages, and *which, for this reason, could neither be call'd Communions, nor Christian Communions*. Here are then two great characteristicks, which, according to him, a Communion ought to have to merit the denomination of Christian, *Antiquity and Extent*: now it is very certain, that the Churches of the *Reformation* were not, at the beginning, either *ancient* or *extensive*, no more than those of the *Socinians* and others which the Minister rejects, therefore, they were *neither Churches, nor Communions*: but if they were not so then, they could not become so afterwards: therefore, they are not so now, nor can one, consistently with the Minister's rules, too speedily forsake them.

Sup. l. 2. c. 1. p. 238.

XCIII. All the Minister's reasons for defending his Churches are common

It is not to the purpose to answer, that these Churches had their Predecessors in those great Societies, which were antecedent to them, and which preserved the *fundamental* verities; for it suits only with the *Socinians* to say as much. The Minister urges them in vain with these words,

Let they [illegible] name us a Communion which hath [illegible] Dogma? *To find out the succession [illegible] they begin by a* Cerinthus; *they [illegible] by an* Artemon, *by a* Paul *of* Samosata, *by a* Photinus, *and other such like men, who never had an assembly of four thousand people, who never had a Communion, and who were the abomination of the whole Church.* When the Minister urges them thus, he has reason in the main, but has not reason according to his principles, because the *Socinians* will always tell him, that the only *fundamental* point of Salvation, is to believe one only God, and one only Mediator, *Christ*; that it is the Unity of these tenets, which all the world agrees in, that makes the *Church*'s Unity; that the superadded tenets may indeed make particular confederations, but not another Body of the *Church* universal; that their Faith hath subsisted and doth still subsist in all Christian Societies; that they can live amongst the *Calvinists*, as the pretended-Elect of the *Calvinists* liv'd, before *Calvin*, in the Church of *Rome*; that they are no more oblig'd to shew, nor to reckon their Predecessors, than the *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*; that it is not true, they were *the abomination of the whole Church*; since, before [illegible] part thereof, the whole *Church* [illegible] power of assembling herself against [illegible] whole Church [illegible] nothing; that all the [illegible] to particular Churches, [illegible] definity, or rather for the nullity of their [illegible] of the *Lutherans* [illegible] ings, were to-wit [illegible] this, [illegible] their example, they [illegible] which [illegible] they have [illegible] extorted by bloody wars,

their

their cause is never the better for that; and to annex Salvation to such favour or toleration, howsoever obtain'd from Prince or Magistrate, whether by negotiation or force, is making *Christianity* to depend on *Policy*.

XCIV. Abridgment of the foregoing arguments.

The Minister having taken these great steps, by never so little reflexion upon his own principles, would soon join issue with us. The sentiment of the *universal* Church, is a rule; 'tis a certain rule against the *Socinians*: therefore, an *universal* Church must be shewn in which the *Socinians* are not comprehended. What excludes them from it, is the want of *extent* and *succession*: a succession therefore must be pointed out to them, which they cannot meet with amongst themselves: now they meet evidently with the same succession that *Calvinists* boast of; namely, a succession in the principles which are common to them with other Sects: it is necessary therefore they should find out another; it is necessary, I say, that you should find a succession in the tenets peculiar to that Sect whose antiquity you would establish. Now this succession agrees not with *Calvinists*, who, in their peculiar tenets, have no more succession, nor antiquity, than the *Socinians*: you must therefore go forth from theirs as well as from the *Socinian* Church: you must therefore be able to find out a better antiquity and succession than either of theirs. Finding this antiquity and this succession, you will have found the Certainty of Faith: all therefore you will have to do is, to rely on the sentiments of the *Church*, and on her authority; and what is all this else, I pray, but owning the Church *Infallible?* This Minister leads us then by a sure way to the *Infallibility* of the Church.

XCV. [illegible]

I am sensible, he says a restriction. *The universal Church*, says he, *is infallible to a certain* [illegible] with

respect to *Dogmata* in the Church's Infallibility. *P.* 256.

degree, as far as those bounds which divide fundamental truth from those which are not so. But we have already made it plain that this restriction is arbitrary. God hath not declared to us that he ever confined within these bounds the assistance which he promised to his *Church*, nor that he design'd to invert his promises at the will of Ministers. He gives his Holy Ghost, not to teach some truth, but to teach *all truth*, because he hath reveal'd none but such as is useful and necessary in certain cases. Never therefore will he permit any one of these truths to be extinguish'd in the body of the *universal* Church.

Joh. xvi. 13.

XCVI. What is once believed in the whole Church, was always believed in it.

Wherefore, whatsoever Doctrine I shall shew to have been once universally received, the Minister must receive it pursuant to his principles; and should he think to escape by answering, that this Doctrine, for instance, *Transubstantiation*, the *Sacrifice*, *Invocation* of Saints, *Veneration* of Images, and such like points, are indeed to be found in all the *Oriental* Communions no less than in the *Western* Church, but yet were not always there, and yet it is in this perpetuity that he hath placed the proofs of his proof and the *Infallibility* of the universal Church: he must have misunderstood himself, because, he could not have believed, in the Church *universal*, a perpetual assistance of the *Holy Ghost* without comprehending, in this acknowledgment, not only all times together, but also each time in particular: this perpetuity including them all: from which it follows that, throughout the whole duration of the *Church*, he was never the able to point out any, when the error prevail'd, in the *Holy Ghost* have bound himself to preserve her from. Now it has been seen, the *Holy Ghost* has equally bound himself to preserve her

her from all error, nor from one more than another; therefore there never can be any.

XCVII. *The Catholick* alone believe in the promises.

What makes our adversaries stop at this, is their having nothing but a human and a wavering Faith. But the *Catholick*, whose Faith is divine and firm, will say without hesitating: if the *Holy Ghost* hath promised his *universal* Church to assist her indefinitely against errors, therefore against *all*: and if against *all*, therefore *always*: and as often as one shall find, in any certain time, a Doctrine establish'd in the whole *Catholick* Church, such can never be impeach'd of novelty, but by error.

XCVIII. The Minister can no longer deny the Infallibility which he has confess'd. *Gal.* ii. 18.

We press him too home, will he say, and at last shall force him to forsake his principle of the universal Church's *Infallibility*. God forbid he should forsake so true a principle, or that he should fall back into all the absurdities he sought to avoid by establishing it; for then his case would be that mention'd by St. *Paul*: *If I build again the things which I destroy'd, I make myself a prevaricator.* But since he has begun to take so wholsom a Medicine, he must be made to swallow it to the last drop, however bitter it may seem at present; that is, he must be shewn all the necessary consequences of that truth which he has once acknowledged.

XCIX. The infallibility of general Councils a consequence from the Infallibility of the Church.

He puzzles himself about the *Infallibility* of *universal* Councils: but in the first place, supposing there were no Councils, the Minister is agreed that the *Church*'s consent, even without being assembled, would serve for a certain rule. Her consent might be known, since he supposes it is so sufficiently at present, to condemn the *Socinians*, and to serve for an unalterable rule in the most knotty questions. Now, by the same means that the *Socinians* are condemn'd, the other Sects may also be condemn'd. Nor indeed

can it be denied that the whole *Church*, without assembling, hath sufficiently condemn'd *Nestorius*, *Paul of Samosata*, the *Manichees*, the *Pelagians*, and an endless number of other Sects. In like manner, what Sect soever may arise, it may always be condemn'd like those, and the *Church* will be *infallible* in this condemnation, since her consent will be a rule. Secondly, by owning that the *universal* Church is *infallible*, how can the Councils not be so which represent her, which she receives, which she approves, wherein nothing else is proposed but to declare her sentiments in a lawful assembly?

But this assembly is impossible, because there is no assembling all the Pastors of the universe, and much less, so many opposite Communions. What a chimera? Did ever man take it into his head to require, in order to form an *Oecumenical* Council, that all Pastors should be present at it? Is it not sufficient that so many come to it, and from so many places, and the rest so evidently consent to their assembly, as to become [illegible] the true judgment [illegible] in it is the [illegible] of the whole [illegible]? Who therefore can refuse his [illegible] to such a Council, unless he [illegible] *Christ*, contrary to his promises, [illegible] All the [illegible] *Christ*? And [illegible] *Council* [illegible] of so much force [illegible], or how much more will it be, [illegible]

[illegible] Methinks [illegible]

vatian had separated from it: at such a time, he must allow the convention of such a Council would have been a divine relief in order to prevent the progress of an error. Let us now suppose what came to pass: a proud *Novatian* makes himself Bishop in a See already fill'd, and makes a Sect that will *Reform* the *Church*: he is expell'd; is excommunicated: what then; because he continues to call himself a Christian, must he be of the *Church* in despite of her? Because he carries his insolence to the utmost extreams, and will hearken to no kind of reason, must the Church have lost her first Unity, nor be able any longer to assemble, nor to form an *universal* Council unless this proud heart consent? Must temerity have such a power? And will there need no more than to lopp off a branch, nay, a rotten branch, to say that the tree hath lost its Unity and root? to the Church.

It is therefore a thing not to be question'd, that in spite of *Novatian*, in spite of *Donatus*, in spite of all other no less contentious than unreasonable men, the *Church* will have power to convene an *Oecumenical* Council. Will have it, do I say? Already hath she exercised that power, and maugre *Novatian* and *Donatus* held the *Nicene* Council. That it was necessary to call, and what is worse, to make the followers of those Heresiarchs actually come to it, to the end the assembly might be lawfully held; is what was never so much as thought of. To trump up such a shift at this time of day, and thirteen hundred years after the whole world (the impious part excepted) hath look'd on this holy Council as *universal*; to maintain it was not so, nay, that it was impossible for the Catholick Church to hold such a Council, by reason she could not assemble in it those rebels, which had unjustly broke Unity, CII. The Council of Nice formed contrary to the Modeler's principle.

Unity, is obliging her to depend on her enemies, and punish their rebellion on herself.

CIII. Remarkable words of a learned *Englishman* concerning the Infallibility of the *Nicene* Council. Dr. *Bull. def. fid. Nic. praefat. n. 2. & 3. Iudic. n. 3.*

Here is then a Council justly call'd *universal*, by consequence, *Infallible*, if so be the Minister do not forget all he hath just granted; and pleased I am with the opportunity of quoting to him what a learned *Englishman*, a stanch *Protestant*, hath said to this purpose. *The matter under question in this Council, was a main article of the Christian Religion. If in a question of this importance it be imagin'd, that all the Pastors of the Church could have fallen into error, and deceived all the faithful, how shall we be able to defend the word of Jesus Christ, who hath promised his Apostles, and in their persons, his Successors, to be always with them? A promise that would not be true, the Apostles not being to live so long a time, were it not that their Successors are here comprehended in the persons of the Apostles themselves*; which he confirms by a passage out of *Socrates*, who says, *That the Fathers of this Council, altho' simple and not over learn'd, could not fall into error, for that they were illuminated with the light of the Holy Ghost*; whereby he shews us all at once the *Infallibility* of universal Councils by the Scripture and by the tradition of the ancient *Church*. May the blessing of God light on the learned Doctor *Bull*; and in recompence of this sincere acknowledgment, and without of that zeal he hath shewn in defence of *Jesus Christ*'s divinity, may he be deliver'd from the prejudices which prevent opening his eyes to the lights of the *Catholick* Church, and to the necessary consequences of that truth he hath confess'd.

Socrat. l. 1. c. 9.

I do neither undertake the history, nor the defence of all general Councils: it suffices me to have remark'd in one only, from avow'd principles

ples, what the attentive reader will easily extend to all the rest; and the least that can be concluded from this example is, that God having prepared in these assemblies, so present an assistance to his troubled *Church*, 'tis renouncing Faith in his providence to believe, that *Schismaticks* may so alter the constitution of his *Church*, as that this remedy should become absolutely impossible to her.

by the Council of Nice.

CV. The Minister forced to take from Pastors the title of Judges in matters of Faith.

In order to enervate the authority of Ecclesiastical judgments in matters of Faith, Mr. *Jurieu* has ventur'd to say, that they are not even judgments; that the Pastors assembled in these cases, are not *Judges, but wise and experienced men, and that they act not with authority*; that the want of being let into this secret was the cause, that his Brethren *have written with so little perspicuity on this subject:* and the reason he alledges for taking from Councils the title of Judges, is because, *not being infallible, 'tis impossible they should be Judges in decisions of Faith*, because *the word Judge, imports a person you must necessarily submit to.*

Syst. l. iii. ch. 2. p. 243. ch. 3. p. 251. ch. 4. p. 255. Ibid. 243. P. 255.

CVI. This Doctrine is contrary to the sentiments of his Church.

That the Pastors are not Judges in questions relative to Faith, is what never has been heard of among Christians, nay, not so much as in the *Reformation*, where Ecclesiastical authority is brought to so low an ebb. On the contrary, Mr. *Jurieu* himself produces us the words of the Synod of *Dort*, wherein that Synod *declares* herself *Judge*, and even *lawful judge, in the cause of* Arminius, which certainly regarded Faith.

Ibid. 257.

We read also in his book of *Discipline*, that all *the differences of a Province shall be definitively judged, and without appeal, in its respective Provincial Synod, except what regards suspensions and degradations .... And likewise what concerns Doctrine,*

Disc. ch. viii. art. 10

trine, the Sacraments, and discipline in general; all which cases may, step by step, be brought up to the national Synod to receive the definitive and last judgment, which, in another place, is call'd *the entire and final resolution.*

To say with Mr. *Jurieu* that the word judgment is here taken *in an extensive sense*, for a report of experienced men, and not for a sentence of *judges having authority to bind* [illegible], is an insult on human language; for what must be call'd acting with authority, and binding consciences, if it be not to push things so far as to oblige the particular condemn'd persons *to acquiesce from point to point, and with express declaiming of their errors, enter'd in a register, under penalty of being cut off from the Church?*

Is this a judgment in an improper, *and more extensive sense*, and not rather a judgment in full rigour? And that the Synods have exerted this power, we have seen in the affair of *Piscator*, they obliging him to subscribe a formulary which condemn'd his Doctrine: we have seen in the affair of *Arminius*, and in the subscription required to the *Canons* of the Synod of *Dort*; and all the registers of our *Reformed* are full of the like subscriptions.

No other remedy had Mr. *Jurieu* found out but this, to say, *that when a Synod determines* [illegible] *and* [illegible] *and* [illegible] *and* [illegible]; but this is contrary to the expressions of their *Discipline*, which [illegible] *point to point*, [illegible] which Mr. *Jurieu* himself [illegible]

It only remain'd to say, that *cutting off from the Church*, in this place, was no more than cutting off from an arbitrary confederation, contrary to the express words of their discipline, which, explaining this cutting off in the same chapter, is acquainted with no other than that which severs a rotten Member from the Body, and ranks it among *Heathens*, as already seen.

CVIII. The Minister's evasion. *Ibid. p. 260. Ibid. Art. 17.*

Wherefore it is but too manifest that this Minister has changed the maxims of the Sect. Let us now restore them, and joining them to the Minister's own principles, we shall clearly find *Infallibility* confess'd. By the Minister's principles, if Councils were Judges in matters of Faith, they would be *Infallible*: now by the principles of his *Church*, they are Judges; therefore, the Minister either must condemn himself, or his *Church*, if he allow not the *Infallibility* of Councils, of those at least, wherein is the last and final resolution: but tho' he should have bereft the Pastors assembled of the title of *Judges* to leave them nothing but that of *experienced* men, yet the Councils would be but the better authorized by his Doctrine, there being not a man of sound sense that would not hold himself for at least as rash, in resisting the sentiment of all experienced men, as in resisting the sentence of all *Judges*.

CIX. Infallibility proved by the principles of the Minister. *Sup. n. 107. S. 106. & sup.*

He is not less perplex'd about the letters of submission, which the Deputies of all Provincial Synods are to carry to the national one in [illegible] form, and in these terms: *We promi[illegible] God to permit us [illegible] that [illegible] as we are, [illegible] lead you into all truth and [illegible] the rule of his [illegible]*. The last words demonstrate, that the matter in hand was Religion, nor any longer [illegible]

CX. [illegible] n [illegible] of this [illegible] well [illegible] Place. *[illegible] p.*

can we learn what it is to be Judges, nay and sovereign Judges, if men, to whom such an oath is taken, be not so. I have elsewhere shewn, that they exacted it in full rigour; that many Provinces were censured for having made a difficulty of submitting *to the charge of Approbation, of Submission and Obedience*; and that they were obliged *to make it in specific terms to all that should be concluded and decreed, without condition, or modification.* These words are so pressing, that after so long torturing himself to expound them, Mr. *Jurieu* at length comes to say, *that they promise that submission on regulations of discipline relating to things indifferent*, or, at furthest, on less important controversies, *which do not destroy, nor hurt the foundation of Faith*; to that, concludes he, *it is not strange that in such sort of things we pay the Synod an entire submission, because, in contrary case, it would be out of the Synod's power.* [illegible] *to sacrifice truth to the good of Peace.*

Expos. ch. 19. Conference with Mr. *Claude* p. 52. 53.

S. Q. p. 270. 271.

Sacrifice truths, and the reveal'd truths of God! either he know not what he says, or he blasphemes. To sacrifice heavenly truths, if this be to renounce them, and subscribe the condemnation of them, 'tis a blasphemy. There is no truth reveal'd of God that does not deserve, so far from sacrificing it, that we should sacrifice ourselves for it. But perchance to sacrifice them, is to hold our tongue. The expression is much too violent. [illegible] pass however, provided [illegible] will [illegible]; but the Synod will [illegible] *either* [illegible] *to* [illegible], and [illegible] in [illegible] *to* [illegible] and your own [illegible] oath, *to* [illegible] *point to point*, [illegible] *of* your opinion [illegible] *in a* [illegible], in order to prevent [illegible] equivocation, under penalty of being cut off from God?

God's people, and accounted as a *Heathen*. What will you do, if unable to make your judgment bend to that of the Church? Certainly, either you'll subscribe, and betray your conscience, or speedily you alone will be your whole Church.

CXI. The Confession of Faith always put to the question in all Synods. *Ibid.* 270. Conference with Mr. *Claude* p. 378.

Besides, when the Minister tells us, that the points of controversy, which are submitted to the Synod, are not those which are contain'd in the *Confession of Faith*, he does not reflect, how many times they would have changed them in important articles out of complaisance to the *Lutherans*. Nay more, he has forgotten the custom of all their Synods, wherein the first point put to debate always is, upon reading the *Confession* of Faith, to examine whether there be any thing to be corrected in it. The fact was put to Mr. *Claude*, nor was it deny'd by him, and besides this, it is manifest by the Acts of all the Synods. Who will now wonder that nothing hath escap'd change in the new *Reformation*, since, notwitstanding so many books written and so many Synods held, they are every day still to seek and deliberate anew about their Faith?

CXII. The weak constitution of the Reformation forced, at length, the Ministers to change their Capital Doctrine, [illegible] of the [illegible]

But nothing will set in a plainer light the feeble constitution of their *Church*, than the change I am now about to relate. Nothing amongst them is more essential, nor more *fundamental*, than to oblige each one to form his Faith on the reading of the Scripture. But one sole question proposed to them has, at length withdrawn them from this principle. Now they were ask'd, what could be those people's Faith, which as yet had neither read the Scripture nor heard it read, but were just entering on the reading of it? There needed no more than this to put them manifestly to a stand.

To say, in this state, one has no Faith; with what disposition [illegible] and in what spirit, will [illegible]

such a man read the holy Scripture? But if you say, he has; what truth he received it? All they had to answer was, "That the Christian Doc-
"trine taken in the whole, makes it self be felt;
"that to form an act of Faith on the divinity
"of Scripture, it is not necessary to have read
"it; that it suffices to have read a Summary of
"Christian Doctrine without descending to par-
"ticulars; that those who want the Scripture,
"had it wherein is in their power to become
"good Christians; that the Gospel Doctrine
"makes its Divinity be felt by the simple, inde-
"pendently of the book it's contain'd in; that
"supposing this Doctrine were mixt with things
"not divine but false, the pure and celestial
"Doctrine blended with it would nevertheless
"make itself be felt; that it carries reasons
"truth, after which the sanctified man believes
"such a book to be canonical because he hath
"found truths in it that satisfy his heart, in
"a word, that one single truth is like the
"light of the sun, heat, fire, and the
"sweet and bitter, in a single."

CXIII. *That Faith is not grounded on Scripture.*

He resolves [illegible] difficulty to the Ministers to reject the opinion. Whether or no it is reasonable, it [illegible] to be found on Scripture, to [illegible] book. [illegible] Not, it suffices [illegible] to [illegible] those who [illegible] we must [illegible] to [illegible] Faith? But [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] they have [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] God.

[illegible] Faith, which they [illegible]

of the divine books, *that they were known for Canonical, not so much from the consent of the Church, as from the testimony and interior persuasion of the Holy Ghost.* The Ministers, it seems, are sensible at present that this was all illusion, and how little likelihood there is, that the faithful should be capable, by their interior relish and without the assistance of tradition, to discern from a profane book the *Canticle* of *Canticles*, or to feel the divinity of the first chapters of *Genesis*, and so forth: accordingly it is decided at present, *that the examination of the question touching Apocryphal books, is not necessary for the people.* Mr. *Jurieu* hath wrote a chapter expressly to prove it; and so far is it from being requisite to torment one's self about books *Canonical* or *Apocryphal*, about Text or Version, or to be at the pains of discussing Scripture, or even reading it; that the Christian truths, provided you only put them together, will of themselves make you feel them as you feel *cold* and *heat.*

no further necessity of discerning Apocryphal from canonical books. *Confess. Art.* 4.

Sup. l. III. 452. *Ibid. ch.* 2. 3.

Mr. *Jurieu* says all this; and what is more remarkable, says it but after Mr. *Claude.* And since these two Ministers have concurr'd together in this point, which is as much as to say, that the Party had but this sole refuge; let us stop a while to consider whence they set out, and whither they are arrived. The Ministers heretofore built Faith on *Scripture*: now they form it without the *Scripture.* It was said in the *Confession* of Faith, speaking of *Scripture*, that *all things ought to be examin'd, regulated, and reformed according to it*; now, not the sentiment, which men have *of things*, ought to be proved by *Scripture*; but *Scripture* itself is not known, nor perceived to be *Scripture*, otherwise than by the sentiment you have *of things* before you

CXV. The importance of this change.

Def. of the Ref. 2. p. *ch.* 1. *Confession of Faith. Art.* 2.

you know the divine books; and Religion is form'd without them.

CXVI. Manifest Fanaticism. This testimony, imagin'd by men to proceed from the *Holy Ghost*, whereby to discern divine Scriptures from not divine, was held deservedly for *Fanaticism* and a means of deceit; because this testimony, not being annex'd to any positive proof, there was not a man who could not either boast of it without reason, or fancy it to himself without grounds. But the case is now much worse: whereas they said formerly, *let us see what is written, and then we will believe*; which was beginning at least by something positive and a certain fact: now they begin by *feeling* things in themselves as you feel cold and heat, sweet and bitter; and when afterwards they come to read the Scripture in this disposition, God knows, with what facility they turn it to what they already hold for as certain, as what they have seen with their eyes, and touch'd with their hands.

CXVII. Neither miracles, nor prophecies, [illegible] According to this presupposition, *viz.* truths necessary to Salvation make themselves be felt by themselves, *Jesus Christ* needed not miracles, nor prophecies: *Moses* would have been believed tho' the Red Sea had not divided itself, tho' the rock had not pour'd out torrents of water at the first touch of the wand: they had not [illegible] to do for to propose the Gospel or the Law. No more had the Fathers of *Nice* and *Ephesus*, than to propose the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, provided they proposed it with all the other mysteries; the rest [illegible] to Scripture and tradition, which they made [illegible] so much care, were needless to them: on the bare exposition of truth, Grace would have commanded the assent of all the faithful; God inspires all he pleases into whom he pleases, and inspiration of itself alone can do all things.

The.

CXVIII. The Grace necessary to produce Inspiration annexed to certain exterior means and matters fact.

This was not the thing doubted of, and the power of God was well known to *Catholicks*, no less than the necessity men stood in, of his inspiration and Grace. The business was to find out the external means it makes use of, and whereto God has been pleased to annex it: one may feign or imagine that he is inspired of God without being really so; but he cannot feign, nor imagine that the Sea divides itself, that the earth opens, the dead arise, the born-blind receive sight, that he reads such a thing in a book, and that such and such our Predecessors in the Faith have so understood it; that the whole Church believes, and always hath believed it so. The question therefore in issue is, not whether those external means be sufficient without Grace and divine inspiration, for none pretends that: but, in order to hinder men from feigning or imagining an inspiration, whether it hath not been God's œconomy, and his usual conduct to make his inspiration walk hand in hand with certain means of fact, which men can neither feign in the air without being convicted of falsehood, nor imagine without illusion. This is not the place to determine which be these facts, which these external means, which the motives of belief, since it is already certain, there are some such, for the Minister hath agreed to it; it is, I say, agreed, not only that there are such certain facts, but moreover, that those certain facts may serve for an *Infallible* rule. For instance, according to him, 'tis a certain fact that the Christian *Church* has always believed the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, the soul's immortality, and the eternity of pains, with such and such other articles: but this certain fact, according to him, is an *Infallible* rule, and the best of all rules, not only to decide all these articles, but also to resolve the

[illegible] and knotty question concerning *Fundamentals*. We have seen the passages where the Mr [illegible] and proves this: but when he [illegible] and allows the universal consent to be [illegible] *rule* of judging these important and knotty questions; yet, in proposing this exterior motive, which, according to him, implies *Demonstration*, he did not aim at excluding Grace and [illegible] Inspiration: the question therefore is, whether the authority of the *Church*, which joins to the Grace of God is a sufficient motive and [illegible] *rule of all rules* in certain points, may not be so in all; and whether, setting up an inspiration exclusive of all these exterior means, and whereof you give yourself and your own sentiment for trusty to yourself and others, be not the best plea can possibly be put into the mouth of these Teachers, the surest illusion to drive headstrong men to the utmost extremes.

After possessing the people with the notion of their being particularly inspired by God; to complete the thing you need but also tell them, they may make themselves guides as they think fit, may depose all those that are appointed them, may [illegible] to act by such powers as they [illegible]. Why what hath been [illegible] Mr *Claude* and Mr [illegible] together in this Doctrine.

[illegible] speaks to the Christian [illegible] People, a State, and a Society: [illegible] your King holds nothing of [illegible] authority is derived from a higher power: naturally you have no [illegible] Ministers than you have [illegible] Mouthes, who [illegible] your Parson, [illegible] and [illegible] they [illegible] by an [illegible] of his appointment.

The

The kingdom of *Jesus Christ* is not of this world, nor can a comparison be made betwixt this kingdom and those of the earth, which is not defective; in a word, nature affords us nothing that bears a conformity with *Jesus Christ* and his kingdom, nor have you any other right than that which you shall find in the laws or customs immemorial of your Society. Now these customs immemorial, to begin from the Apostolick times, are, that the Pastors already constituted, should constitute others: *choose ye*, say the Apostles, *and we shall appoint*; it was *Titus*'s business to appoint the Pastors of *Crete*; and it was from *Paul* appointed by *Jesus Christ*, that he received this power. *For this cause*, says he, *left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst reform the things that are wanting and ordain Priests in every City, as I had appointed thee.* Besides, those who flatter you with the notion that your consent is absolutely necessary to constitute your Pastors, do not believe what they tell you, since they acknowledge those of *England* for true Pastors, tho' the people hath had no share in their election. The example of St. *Mathias*, extraordinarily chosen by a divine lot, ought not to be made a precedent, nay, even then, all was not left to the people, for *Peter*, already establish'd Pastor by *Jesus Christ*, held the assembly: neither was it election that constituted *Mathias*; it was heaven which declared itself. Every where else, the authority of constituting is given to Pastors already constituted: the power, which they have from above, is render'd sensible by the imposition of hands, a ceremony reserved to their order. 'Tis thus that Pastors succeed successively one another: *Jesus Christ*, who appointed the first, hath said that he would always be with those to whom they should transmit their power.

ye cannot have Pastors any where but in this succession, nor any more ought ye to apprehend its failing, than that the *Church* herself, preaching, and the Sacraments, should fail.

CXXI. Impudent claim of the Church.

Thus speaks the *Church*, nor do the people presume beyond what is given them: but the *Reformation* speaks to them the quite contrary: In you, says she, is the source of celestial power; ye may not only present, but constitute your Pastors. Should proofs of this power, in the people, be required from the Scriptures; she would be at a stand. To exempt herself from this task, she tells the people that it is a natural right of all Societies; so that, to enjoy it, there is no need of Scripture, it being sufficient that Scripture hath not recall'd this right allow'd by nature. The turn is cunning, I must own; but beware of it, ye people, who are fed with this delusion! to make yourselves a Lord on earth, it suffices to acknowledge him for such, and every man carries this power in his own will. But the case is not the same in making yourselves a *Christ*, a Saviour, a celestial King, and appointing him his Ministers. And will ye then indeed, ye the people, impose your hands on them on being told it appertains to you to appoint them? They dare not: but are again incouraged, when assured, that ceremony of imposition of hands is not necessary. What, is it not sufficient to say, it is necessary, that you to open and read in Scripture, and [illegible] find, either in Scripture or in all traditions, [illegible] Pastors made any other way, [illegible] made by other Pastors? Nothing, [illegible] Ye people! [illegible] the power [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] and that [illegible] power [illegible] repeat [illegible] the authority of their Synods

flows from you, that they are no more than your delegates; believe, I say, all these things, altho' you find not a word thereof in Scripture; and believe beyond every thing else, that, when you shall think yourselves inspired by God to reform the *Church*, whensoever you shall be assembled in whatsoever way, you have power to do with your Pastors just what you please, none having right to deprive you of this liberty, it being derived from nature. Thus is the *Reformation* preach'd; thus is *Christianity* destroy'd root and branch and the way paved for *Antichrist*.

CXXII. The Sects issuing from the Reformation proofs of her evil constitution. Comparison of the ancient Church ill-alledged. History of *Calvin* 1. *Arch.* IV.

With such maxims and such a spirit (for altho' it shoots out more manifest in our days, the root was always the same in the *Reformation*) it is no longer to be wonder'd, that we have seen it from its first origin run from change to change, productive of so many Sects, of so many kinds. Mr. *Jurieu* hath had the face to answer, that herein, as in all other things, it resembles the primitive Church. In good truth, this is too notoriously abusing the people's credulity and the venerable name of the *primitive* Church. The Sects, which divided from her, were not the consequence, or natural effect, of her constitution. Two kinds of Sects did arise in primitive Christianity; some purely *Heathen* in their foundation, as that of the *Valentinians*, the *Simonians*, the *Manichæans*, and others of that stamp which enter'd themselves in appearance, on the list of Christians only to set themselves off with the great name of *Jesus Christ*; nor have these Sects any thing in common with those of the latter ages. The other Sectaries for the most part were Christians, which, unable to bear the lofiness, and as I may say, the whole weight of Faith, fought to ease reason now of one article, then of another: thus some deprived *Christ*

of his *Divinity*; others, unable to unite the *Divinity* and *Humanity*, mutilated, as it were, in divers ways both one and the other. Against the like rocks split the proud spirit of *Martin Luther*. He sunk in reconciling Grace and Free will, which in truth is a grand mystery: he kept no compass in matter of Predestination, and no longer saw any thing for men but a fatal and inevitable necessity, wherein good and evil are equally comprehended. We have seen how these extravagant maxims produced those of the *Centuriators* still more extravagant. When laying aside all temper, by carrying to extremes Predestination and Grace, men fell into such visible excesses as were no longer to be supported: the horror they conceived thereof cast them into the opposite extreme; and from *Luther*'s excess who went beyond bounds with Grace (however incredible it may seem) they pass'd to the excess of the *Demi-pelagians* who destroy it. Whence have we the *Arminians*, who in our days have produced the *Pelagian*, *Pelagian* complexion, whose author was Mr. *Paix* the late Minister of *Orleans*. On the other side, the same *Luther*, daunt at the enormity of these words, *This is my Body*, *This is my blood*, could not find in his heart to reject the *Real Presence*; but at the same time was resolved, in compliance with human taste, to rid it of the charge of *Sacrilege*. Things forgot one there, and the *Real Presence* was to an *Idolatry*. Human reason took a pleasure in its own inventions, and its exquisite being tutored with reason to our senses, stood up for the same contradiction with the rest. As *Luther* and his followers pretended that the *Real Presence* was a mixture of *Bread* and *Flesh* in *Eucharist*, the *Zwinglians* took a delicacy the same of the *Transub*- and *Impanation*, and that

these great mysteries, which had stood free from all insult of Heresy for twelve hundred years, are enter'd on the tooting of disputable points, in an age, when all kind of novelties think they have a right to shew their heads.

CXXIII. *Socinians* united with the *Anabaptists*, and both of them deriving their origin from *Luther* and *Calvin*.

We have seen the illusions of the *Anabaptists*, and are sensible, it was by following the principles of *Luther* and the rest of the *Reformers*, that they rejected *Baptism* without immersion, and Infant-Baptism; for this reason that they did not find them in the *Scripture*, where they were made believe, all was contain'd. The *Unitarians* or *Socinians* united with them, yet not so as to keep within the limits of their maxims, because the principles they had borrow'd from the *Reformers*, led them much further.

Mr. *Jurieu* remarks that they came forth, a long while since the *Reformation*, from the midst of the Church of *Rome*. Where is the wonder! *Luther* and *Calvin* came forth from her as well as they. The question is, whether the constitution of the Church of *Rome* was the cause of these innovations, and not rather, the new Church-frame set up by the *Reformers*. Now this question is easy to decide by the history of *Socinianism*. In 1545, and in the years subsequent to this date, twenty years after that *Luther* had removed the bounds set by our fore-fathers, when all minds were in a ferment, and the world, teeming with novelty from his disputes, was always ready to bring forth some strange off-spring, *Lelio Socini* and his companions held their clandestine conventicles in *Italy* against the *Divinity* of the Son of God. *George Blandrate* and *Fausto Socini*, *Lelio*'s nephew, maintain'd this Doctrine in 1558, and in 1573, and form'd the Party. By the same method employ'd by *Zuinglius* to elude these words, *This is my Body*, the

Vid. Bibl. Anti-Trin. lit.

the *Socinian*'s and their followers eluded those by which *Christ* is call'd God. If *Zwinglius* believed himself forced to the *figurative* interpretation by the impossibility of comprehending a human Body whole and intire every where that the *Eucharist* was distributed, the *Unitarians* believe!, they had the same right over all the other *Mysteries* equally incomprehensible; and after it had been set them for a rule to understand *figuratively* those passages of Scripture, which bore hard on human reasoning, they did but extend this rule to whatsoever the mind of man had to suffer the like violence from. To these evil dispositions introduced by the *Reformation*, let us join the general foundations it had laid, the *Authority* of the Church despised, the *Succession* of Pastors held for nothing, *precedent age* impeach'd of error, the *Fathers* themselves barely handled, all fences laid open, and human curiosity abandon'd intirely to itself: what else could be the issue but what hath been seen, namely, an unbridled licentiousness in all matters of Religion? But experience hath evinced that these hardy Innovators saw not the least possibility of settling amongst us; 'twas to the Churches of the *Reformation* they betook themselves; those upstart Churches, which, set in motion and still giddy with their own changes, were susceptible of all others. 'Twas in the bosom of these Churches, at *Geneva*, amongst the *Sectaries* and the *Pseudo Prophets*, that the *Unitarians* fought a sanctuary. Repulsed by some of these Churches, they rallied themselves a sufficient number of Disciples amongst the rest of them, to make a Body apart. This, beyond question, was their [illegible] You need but look into the Testimony of *Gentian Hervet*, one of the *Unitarian* Chiefs, and the account given by *Francis Hotman*, [illegible]

manner the Unitarians *separated themselves from the Reformed*, to be convinced, that this Sect was nothing but a progress of, and a sequel from, the *Dogmata* of *Luther*, of *Calvin*, of *Zuinglius*, of *Menon*, the last of whom was one of the heads of the *Anabaptists*. There you'll find, all those Sects were but *the first draught, and as it were, the dawn of the Reformation, and that* Anabaptism *join'd to* Socinianism, *is the mid-day.* *Bellarm. Ant. Trin. Sand. p. 191. 209.* *Ibid.*

CXXIV. Constitution of the Reformation how unlike to that of the primitive Church.

No longer therefore let them object to us the Sects of the ancient *Church*, and no longer brag of resembling her. Never did the ancient *Church* vary in her Doctrine, never, in her *Confessions* of Faith, did she suppress the truths which she believed were reveal'd by God: she never retouch'd her decisions, never deliberated anew on matters once determin'd, never, no not once, proposed new expositions of Faith, save when some new question arose. But the *Reformation*, quite on the contrary, never could content herself: her *Creeds* have nothing that is certain; the *Decrees* of her Synods, nothing fix'd: her *Confessions* of Faith are confederacies and arbitrary contracts; what is an article of Faith amongst them, is not so for all, nor always: they go apart by caprice and meet again by policy. When therefore Sects arose in the ancient *Church*, 'twas from the common and inveterate depravation of mankind; and when they now arise in the *Reformation*, 'tis from the novel and particular constitution of the Churches she hath modell'd.

CXXV. A memorable instance of Variation in the Protestant Church of Strasburg.

To make this truth the more apparent, I shall choose for an example the Protestant Church of *Strasburg*, as one of the most learned of the *Reformation*, and by her proposed, ever since the beginning, for a pattern of discipline to all the rest. This great City was one of the first that fell

fell by *Luther*'s preaching, and did not think, at that time, of disputing the *Real Presence*. All the complaints made against her Senate were, that *it took away Images, and made Communion be given in both kinds*. It was in 1523, that by the means of *Bucer* and *Capito*, she turn'd *Zunglian*. After she had for some years heard their invectives against the Mass; without wholly abolishing it, and without a full assurance of its being evil, the Senate decree'd *it should be suspended until it were proved a worship unacceptable to God*. Here is a very new provision in matter of Faith; and tho' I had not mention'd that this Decree came from the *Senate*, it would easily have been understood that the assembly, where it was made, was nothing less than *Ecclesiastical*. The Decree pass'd in 1529. The same year, those of *Strasburg* having never been able to agree with the *Lutherans*, join'd in a league with the *Swiss* who were *Zunglians* like themselves. So far did they carry *Zunglius*'s notion and their hatred of the *Real* Presence, as to refuse to subscribe the Confession of *Augsburg* in 1530, and to make themselves a particular Confession, which we have seen under the name of the Confession of *Strasburg*, or of the four Towns. The very next year, they shuffled so much and with so much art on this subject, as to get themselves comprehended in the league of *Smalcald*, from which the rest of the *Sacramentarians* were excluded. But they went still farther in 1536, since they subscribed the *Wittenberg* agreement, wherein, as we have seen, was contained the [illegible] Presence and the Communion of the true Body and true Blood in the Eucharist, altho' void of Faith. Thereby they put over themselves to *Luther*'s sentiments, and from that time were counted among the Orthodox of the Confession of

of *Ausburg* which they subscribed. They declared nevertheless in 1548, that this was without departing from their first *Confession*, which, altho' formerly it had made them reject that of *Ausburg*, was found conformable to it now. In this while *Strasburg* was so wedded to the agreement of *Wittemberg* and the Confession of *Ausburg*, that *Peter Martyr* and *Zanchius*, the two greatest men at that time of the *Sacramentarians*, were forced at length to withdraw from that City; one for refusing to subscribe the agreement, and the other for having subscribed the *Confession* with a restriction; so zealous were they become at *Strasburg* for the *Real* Presence. In 1598, this City subscribed the book of *Concord*; and after having been for so long a time the chief as it were of those Cities that opposed the *Real* Presence, she stretch'd her *Confession*, inspite of *Sturmius*, to the prodigious tenet of *Ubiquity*. The Cities of *Linden* and *Memmingen*, formerly her associates in the hatred of the *Real* Presence, follow'd this example. At this time the ancient *Agenda* was changed, and *Marbachius*'s book was printed at *Strasburg*, in which he maintain'd that *Jesus Christ, before his Ascension, was in heaven as to his humanity; that this visible Ascension was nothing at bottom but an appearance; that the heaven wherein Jesus Christ's humanity was received, contain'd not only God and all the Saints, but moreover all the devils and all the damn'd*; and that Jesus Christ was, according to *his human nature, not only in the Bread and Wine of the Supper, but also in all the pots and all the glasses*. To these extremities were men driven, when forsaking the sure guidance of Church-authority, they gave themselves up to human opinions like to a changeable and impetuous wind.

Hosp. Ibid. An. 1548. *p.* 203.

Hosp. Ibid. An. 1556. *&* 1563.

Hosp. Concord. Hist. p. 277.

Ibid. p. 69.

If

CXXVI. Constancy of the *Catholick* Church.

If now, to the variations and giddinesſs of theſe new Churches, you oppoſe the conſtancy and gravity of the *Catholick* Church, it will eaſily be judged where it is the *Holy Ghoſt* preſides; and becauſe I neither can, nor ought to relate in this work, all the judgments ſhe hath paſs'd in matters of Faith, that uniformity and ſteddineſs I commend her for, ſhall be made appear in thoſe very articles wherein we have ſeen the inconſtancy of our *Reformed*.

CXXVII. Example in the Sect named *Berengarius* concerning the *Real* Preſence. *S. Ber. n. 32.*

The firſt who made a Sect in the *Church*, and dared to condemn her in regard to the *Real* Preſence, was unqueſtionably *Berengarius*. What our adverſaries ſay of *Ratramnus* is nothing leſs than a certain fact as above ſeen, and tho' it were granted that *Ratramnus* favour'd them (which is falſe) an ambiguous author, by all of them made to ſpeak in behalf of their ſeveral opinions, would be in no-wiſe proper to make a Sect. I ſay the ſame of *John Scot*, whoſe error was perſonal and had no continued ſucceſſion.

CXXVIII. The *Church*'s Patience in ſuffering errors.

The *Church* does not always anathematize riſing errors; nor does the cenſure them as long as there are hopes they will vaniſh of themſelves, nay, often fears rendering them famous by her anathema's. Thus *Arrius*, and ſome others who had denied *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Divinity before *Paul* of *Samoſata*, drew not ſuch ſignal condemnations on themſelves as he did, they not being judged capable of raiſing a Sect. As for *Berengarius*, certain it is, he attack'd openly the *Church*'s Faith, and had deſerved the ſame name like other Hereſiarchs, altho' by Hereſy, was ſoon extinguiſh'd.

CXXIX. Example of the Sect of the *Huſſites*.

It appear'd about the year 1400, but by that we have already remark'd, ſome years before, even from the year 1000, the *Real* Preſence manifeſtly impugn'd by the Hereſiarch of *Huſſites*.

Orleans which were *Manicheans*. Such were the first authors of that Doctrine, one article of which was maintain'd by *Berengarius*. But as that Sect kept conceal'd, the *Church* was surprised at this novelty, yet not much disturb'd with it at that time. 'Twas against *Berengarius* that the first decision was made on this subject in 1052, in a Council of a hundred and thirteen Bishops call'd together at *Rome* from all sides by *Nicholas* II. *Berengarius* submitted himself, and the first who made a Sect of the *Sacramentarian* Heresy, was the first also that condemn'd it.

demnation. *S. I. xi. n. 17. & seq.*

Concil. Rom. sub. Nic. II. An. 1059. T. ix. Con. Lab. Guit. lib. III. T. XVIII. Bib. P. P. max. p. 462. &c.

No body is ignorant of that famous *Confession* of Faith which begins, *Ego Berengarius*, where this Heresiarch acknowledges, *that the Bread and the Wine which are placed on the Altar, after Consecration are not only the Sacrament but also the true Body and the true Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly touch'd by the hands of the Priest broken and bruised betwixt the teeth of the faithful, not only in Sacrament, but in truth.*

CXXX. Hard Confession of Faith required of *Berengarius*.

There were none but understood, that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* was broken in the Eucharist in the same sense that we say, a man is torn, he is wet, when the cloaths he actually wears are torn or wet. When his cloaths are not on him, we use not the same way of speaking: so that the meaning was, that *Jesus Christ* was as truly under the *Species*, which are broken and eaten, as we are truly in the cloaths we wear. It was said moreover, that *Jesus Christ* is *sensibly* received and touch'd, because he is in Person and in Substance under the sensible *Species* which are touch'd and received, and all this imported that *Jesus Christ* is received and eaten, not in his proper *Species* and under the exterior of Man, but under a foreign *Species*, and under the exterior of Bread and Wine. And if the

Church

Church said also in a certain sense, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is broken, it was not from her being ignorant that in another sense, it was not so: but as when saying in a certain sense, we are torn and wet when our cloaths are so; we are still sensible at the same time that in another sense, we are neither one nor the other, as to our persons. Thus the Fathers justly said to *Berengarius* what we still say, *that the Body of Jesus Christ is all entire in the whole Sacrament, and all entire in every particle thereof; every where the same Jesus Christ always entire, invisible and indivisible, communicating himself without dividing himself, as the word to a whole audience, and as our soul to all our Members.* But what obliged the *Church* to say, after many Fathers and after St. *Chrysostom*, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is broken, was, that *Berengarius*, under pretext of doing honour to the Saviour of the world, was accustom'd to say: *God forbid that man may break with the teeth, or divide Jesus Christ, in the same manner as we put under the teeth, and divide the things*, namely the Bread and Wine. The *Church* which always took care to combat, in Heretick, the most precise and strongest words they made use of to explain their error, opposed against *Berengarius* the contradictory of that proposition he had advanced, and placed in some manner the *Real* Presence under the eyes of Christians by saying to them, what they received in the Sacrament, after Consecration, was as really the Body and the Blood as before Consecration, it was really Bread and Wine.

Gaill. lib. 1. adv. Berenger. p. 442. 443.

Berenger. Gaill. lib. p. 441.

CXXXI. *Transubstantiation.* But, when the Faithful were told that the Bread and Wine of the *Eucharist* were in truth the Body and the Blood, they were accustom'd to understand, not that they were so by their nature,

nature, but became ſuch by the Conſecration: ſo that the change of *Subſtance* was contain'd in that expreſſion, altho' what principally was aim'd at by it, was to render the *Preſence* ſenſible, which likewiſe was principally impugn'd. Some while after 'twas perceptible that *Berengarius* and his Diſciples varied. For we learn from authors of thoſe times that, in the courſe of the diſpute, they acknowledged in the *Euchariſt* the Subſtance of the Body and Blood, but with that of Bread and Wine, employing even the term of *Impanation* and that of *Invination*, and aſſerting that *Jeſus Chriſt* was, as I may ſay, *Impanate* in the Euchariſt, as he became *Incarnate* in the Virgin's womb. This, ſays *Guitmondus*, was as a laſt intrenchment to *Berengarius*; nor was it without difficulty that this ſubtlety of the Sect was diſcover'd. But the *Church*, which always follows Hereticks ſtep by ſtep to condemn their errors as they diſcloſe them, after having ſo well eſtabliſh'd the *Real* Preſence in *Berengarius*'s firſt Confeſſion of Faith, propoſed alſo another to him in which the change of *Subſtance* was expreſs'd more diſtinctly. He confeſſed therefore under *Gregory* VII. in a Council held at *Rome*, which was the ſixth held under that Pope in 1079. *That the Bread and Wine, which are placed on the Altar, by the myſtery of holy prayer and the words of Jeſus Chriſt, are ſubſtantially changed into the true, life-giving, and proper Flеſh of Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. And the ſame is ſaid of the Blood. It's ſpecified that the Body here received, is the ſame that *was born of the Virgin, that was nail'd to the Croſs, that is ſeated at the right hand of the Father, and the Blood is the ſame that flowed from his ſide*; and to the end no room might be left for equivocation, whereby Hereticks deceive mankind, it's added, that it is done *as in*

where the change of Subſtance is more clearly explain'd, and why.

Guit. Ibid. p. 441. 442. 462. 463. 464.

Alg. de Sac. Corp. & Sang. Praef. T. xxi. *p.* 251.

Ibid.

Conc. Rom. VI. *ſub Greg.* VII. *T. 8. Conc. Lab. &c.* 1079.

sign and in virtue by a simple Sacrament, but in the propriety of nature and the truth of Substance.

CXXXII. The change of substance was objected to *Berengarius* from the beginning. *Fleury* xxvii. p. 417.

Berengarius again subscribed, and this second time condemn'd himself: but he was now so hamper'd, that no room for equivocation was left him, no subterfuge for his error. And if the change of Substance was here insisted on more precisely, 'twas not that the *Church* had before in the least doubted of it, since, from the beginning of the dispute against *Berengarius*, *Hugo* of *Langres* had said, *that the Bread and Wine did not remain in their first nature, but passed into another; that they were changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ by the Omnipotence of God, against which* Berengarius *opposed himself in vain.* And as soon as ever this Heretick had declared himself, *Adelman* Bishop of *Brescia* his school-fellow and the first discoverer of his error warn'd him, *that he stood in opposition to the sense of the whole Catholick Church, and that it was as easy for Jesus Christ to change the Bread into his Body, as to change Water into Wine, and create light by his word alone.* 'Twas therefore a constant Doctrine of the *universal* Church, not that the Bread and Wine contain'd the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, but that they became his Body and Blood by a change of Substance.

Fleury ibid. p. 435, 439.

CXXXIII. Adelman [illegible] that the Doctrine opposed by *Berengarius* was [illegible] the whole [illegible] and [illegible] of the *Church*.

Nor was *Adelman* only that reproached *Berengarius* with the novelty and singularity of his Doctrine: all authors unanimously upbraid him with the fact, that the Faith he impugn'd was [illegible] the whole universe; that he [illegible] the *Church* by the novelty of [illegible] Doctrine, and to come over to his Party, [illegible] was necessary to believe there was no such thing as a *Church* on earth; that there was not so much as one Town, no, nor one Village of his opinion, that the *Church*, the *[illegible]* was [illegible]

all Christians had, in this regard, the same Faith with those of the *West*; so that, nothing could be more ridiculous than to censure, as incredible, what was believed by the whole world. Nor did *Berengarius* deny this fact, but like all Hereticks answer'd disdainfully, that wise men ought not to follow *the sentiments, or rather the follies of the Vulgar*. But *Lanfrank* and the rest of them remonstrated, that what he call'd the Vulgar, was the whole Clergy and all the people of the universe; and upon the Certainty of this fact wherein he fear'd no contradiction, he concluded, that if *Berengarius*'s Doctrine were true, *the inheritance promised to Jesus Christ was made void, and his promises annihilated*; lastly, that *the Catholick Church was no more; and, if she was no more, she never had been.*

lib. III. p. 462. 463. Lanfranc. de Corp. & Sang. Dom. Ibid. c. 2. 4. 5. 22. p. 765. 766. 776. Ibid. Ibid. c. 4. p. 765. Ibid. cap. 22. p. 776.

CXXXIV All innovators always find the Church in a full and constant possession of that Doctrine they attack.

A remarkable fact likewise may be here observed; namely, that *Berengarius*, like all other Hereticks, found the *Church* firm and universally united in the *Dogma* which he impugn'd; 'tis what always hath happen'd in like cases. Of all the *Dogmata* which we believe, not so much as one can be named, which was not found invincibly and universally establish'd when the contrary *Dogma* began to make a Sect; and wherein the *Church* hath not remain'd, if possible, still more fix'd from that very time: a thing alone sufficient to make palpable the perpetual succession and immutability of her Faith.

CXXXV. There was no need of an universal Council against *Berengarius*.

No more necessity was there of convening an universal Council against *Berengarius* than against *Pelagius*; the Decisions of the Holy *See*, and of the Councils then held, were unanimously received by the whole *Church*, and the Heresy of *Berengarius*, quickly crush'd, found no longer any sanctuary but with the *Manichees*.

CXXXVI. Decision of the great Council of *Lateran*. The word *Transubstantiation* pitch'd upon, and why.

S. L. XI. n. 31, 32. &c.

It hath been seen in what manner these *Manicheans* began to spread themselves all over the *West*, filling it with their blasphemies against the *Real* Presence, and at the same time, with their equivocating language, on purpose to conceal themselves from the *Church* whose assemblies they were determin'd to frequent. To the end therefore that she might defeat these equivocations, the *Church* thought herself obliged to employ some precise terms, as she had done formerly to much to the purpose against the *Arians* and *Nestorians*; which she did in this manner under *Innocent* III. in the great Council of *Lateran* in the year of our Lord, 1215. *There is one only universal Church of the faithful out of which there is no Salvation, in which Jesus Christ is himself the Sacrifice and the Victim, whose Body and Blood are truly contain'd under the species of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, the Bread and Wine being transubstantiated, one into the Body, and the other into the Blood of our Lord by the divine power, to the end that, for accomplishing the mystery of Unity, we should take of his what he himself took of ours.* No-body but sees, that this new word *Transubstantiation* here employ'd, without adding any thing to the idea of a change of Substance which we have seen already own'd against *Berengarius*, did but declare it by an expression, the bare signification of which served for a mark to the faithful against the subtilties and equivocations of Heretics, as did heretofore the *Homoousion* of *Nice*, and the *Theotokos* of *Ephesus*. Such was the decision of the Council of *Lateran*, the greatest and the most numerous that ever had been held, its authority being so great, that posterity hath call'd it by excellence, the *General Council*.

Conc. Late. IV. T. XI. Conc. Lab. p. 143.

By

By these Decisions may be seen, with what brevity, with what precision, with what uniformity the *Church* explains herself. Hereticks, always in search after their Faith, walk groping in the dark, and vary. The *Church*, which always carries her Faith intirely form'd in her heart, seeks only to explain it without intricacy and ambiguity; for which reason her Decisions are never clogg'd with a multiplicity of words. Besides, as she looks on the sublimest difficulties unsurprised, she proposes them without reserve, convinced that she shall always find in her children, a mind ready to captivate itself, and a docility capable of the whole weight of the divine mystery. Hereticks, who seek to indulge human sense and the animal part unsusceptible of the divine secret, take great pains to bend the Scripture to their taste and fancy. On the contrary, the *Church* only thinks of taking it in its plain sense. She hears our Saviour say, *This is my Body*, and cannot apprehend that what he calls *Body* so absolutely, should be any thing else than the Body itself; wherefore she believes without difficulty, that it is the Body in *Substance*, because the Body in *Substance* is nothing else but the true and proper Body; thus the word *Substance* enters naturally into her expressions. But then *Berengarius* never thought of using that word, and *Calvin* who used it, tho' agreeing in the main with *Berengarius*, hath thereby made it but manifest, that the figure which *Berengarius* admitted, did not answer the whole expectation nor the whole idea of a Christian.

CXXXVII. The plainness of the Church's Decisions.

The same simplicity, which made the *Church* believe the Body present in the Sacrament, hath made her believe that it was the whole *Substance* of it, *Jesus Christ* not having said, *My Body is here*, but, *This is it*; and as it is not so by its

nature, it becomes, and is made so by the divine power. This is what imports a conversion, a transformation, a change; a word so natural to this mystery, that it could not fail taking place in *Berengarius*'s case, and the more so, as it was every where already found in the Liturgies and Fathers

CXXXVIII Decision of the Council of *Trent*. *Dur. Trans. T.* XVIII. *Bib. P. P.* p. 422. *Gust. Ind.* 462. &c.

These reasons, so plain and natural, were opposed to *Berengarius*. We have no other even at this day to oppose against *Calvin* and *Zwinglius*: we have received them from *Catholicks* that wrote against *Berengarius*, as they had received them from those who preceded them; nor hath the Council of *Trent* added any thing to the Decisions of our fore-fathers, unless what was necessary for a further elucidation of what *Protestants* studied to perplex and darken, as easily will be perceived by those who have the least knowledge of the history of our controversies.

S. n. 131 *S. I.* 111. *n.* 51 &c. *Sq.* [illegible] 31. [illegible]

For it was necessary, for instance, to explain more distinctly, that *Jesus Christ* render'd himself present, not only in the actual use of the Sacrament as is the *Lutheran*'s opinion, but immediately after the Consecration, because it is not there said *This shall be*, but *This is*; which nevertheless was in the main, what had been formerly said against *Berengarius* when the Presence was fix'd, not to the Manducation, or to the Faith of him who received the Sacrament, but to the *sacred prayer and the word of our Saviour*; whereby also did appear, not the adoration only, but likewise the truth of the oblation and sacrifice, as we have been convinced by the *Protestants*: so that, when all is said, there remains no difficulty but in the *Real* Presence, wherein we have the advantage to discover, that those even, who in fact depart from our Doctrine, do always endeavour

endeavour (so sacred is it!) to draw as near to it as they are able.

CXXXIX. Reason for the Council of *Constance*'s Decision touching Communion under one Kind. *Conc. Const. Sess.* VIII.

The Decision of *Constance* in approbation of and for retaining Communion under one Kind, is one of those, wherein our adversaries think they have the most advantage. But in order to be convinced of the gravity and constancy of the *Church* in this decree, there needs but to reflect that the Council of *Constance*, when they pass'd it, had found the custom of communicating under one Kind established, beyond contradiction, many ages before. The case was much the same with that of Baptism by *Immersion*, as clearly grounded on Scripture as Communion under both Kinds could be, and which, nevertheless, had been changed into *Infusion* with as much ease and as little contradiction, as Communion under one Kind was establish'd; so that the same reason stood for retaining one as the other.

CXL. Reasons determining the maintenance of the ancient custom.

'Tis a fact most certainly avow'd in the *Reformation*, altho' at present some will cavil at it, that *Baptism* was instituted by immersing the whole Body into water; that *Jesus Christ* received it so, and caused it to be so given by his Apostles; that the Scripture knows no other *Baptism* than this; that antiquity so understood and practised it; that the word itself implies it, to baptize being the same as to dip: this fact, I say, is unanimously acknowledged by all the Divines of the *Reformation*, nay, by the *Reformers* themselves and those even who best understood the *Greek* language and the ancient customs as well of the *Jews* as *Christians*; by *Luther*, by *Melancthon*, by *Calvin*, by *Capiadon*, by *Grotius*, by all the rest, and lately even by *Jurieu* the most contradicting of all Ministers. Nay, *Luther* has observed, that the *German* word signifying

Luth. de Sacr. Bapt. [illegible]

nifying Baptism, was derived from thence, and this Sacrament named *Tauf* from profundity or depth, because the baptized were deeply plunged into water. If then any fact in the world can be deem'd certain, 'tis this same: but 'tis not less certain, even by all these authors, that *Baptism* without immersion is valid, and that the *Church* is in the right to retain the custom. It is therefore plain, in a parallel fact, what ought to be our judgment as to the Decree of Communion under one Kind, and that all which is opposed against it, is nothing but chicane.

And indeed, if there was reason to maintain *Baptism* without *Immersion*, because, in rejecting it, 'twould follow, there had been no such thing as *Baptism* for many ages; by consequence, no such thing as a *Church*, it being impossible for the *Church* to subsist without the Substance of the Sacraments; no less impossible was it, without the Substance of the Supper. The same reason then subsisted for maintaining Communion under one Kind, as for maintaining *Baptism* by infusion; and the *Church*, in maintaining these two practices which tradition shew'd equally insufficient, did nothing else but, according to custom, maintain against contentious Spirits that authority, whereon the Faith of the people did repose.

Whoever desires to see more on this subject, may turn back to those places of this history, where it is handled, and among others, to those where mention, that Communion under one Kind was [illegible] to little contradiction, that it was not opposed by the greatest enemies of the [illegible], not even by *Luther*, at the beginning.

Next to the question of the *Eucharist*, the principal one of our controversies is that of *Justification*,

Justification, in relation to which the gravity of the *Church*'s Decisions may be easily understood, in that she did but repeat in the Council of *Trent*, what the Fathers, and St. *Austin* had decided formerly, when this question was debated with the *Pelagians*.

CXLII. Inherent justice acknowledged on both sides. Consequence of this Doctrine. *S. I. XIV. n.* 43.

And in the first place it must be supposed, there is no question betwixt us, whether or no a Sanctity and Justice infused into the soul by the Holy Ghost, should be acknowledged in man justified; for the qualities and infused habits are, as above seen, confess'd by the Synod of *Dort*. The *Lutherans* are no less steady in defending them, and in a word, all *Protestants* are agreed, that by the Regeneration and Sanctification of the new man, a Sanctity and Justice is form'd in him like a permanent habit: the question is, whether this Sanctity and this Justice be what justifies us in the sight of God. But where is the difficulty of this? A Sanctity which does not make us Saints, a Justice which does not make us just, were a subtlety quite unintelligible. But a Sanctity and Justice form'd in us by Almighty God, and yet not pleasing to him; or, if agreeable to him, not making that person in whom it's found agreeable to him, would be another nicety still more unworthy the sincerity of a Christian.

CXLIII. The Church in the Council of *Trent* does but repeat her ancient Decisions touching the notion of justifying Grace.

But after all, when the *Church* defin'd in the Council of *Trent*, that remission of sins was given us, not by a simple imputation of the Justice of *Jesus Christ* outwardly, but by a Regeneration which changes and renews us inwardly; she did but repeat what formerly she had defined against the *Pelagians* in the Council of *Carthage*, *that children are truly baptized in the remission of sins, to the end that Regeneration*

Conc. Carth. can. 1. ad l. cap. III. [illegible] *tion should purify in them the sin, which they contracted by generation.*

Conformably to these principles the same Council of *Carthage* understands by *justifying Grace, not only that which remits to us sins committed, but that also which assists us to commit them no more*, not only *by enlightning* our minds, but also by *inspiring charity* into our hearts, to the end that *we might fulfil God's commandments.* Now the Grace, which works these things, is not a simple imputation, but is also an emanation of the Justice of *Jesus Christ:* wherefore justifying Grace is a different thing from such an imputation; and what was said in the Council of *Trent*, is nothing but a repetition of the Council of *Carthage*, whose Decrees appear'd by so much the more inviolable to the Fathers at *Trent*, as the Fathers of *Carthage* were sensible, in proposing them, they proposed nothing else on this subject, but what *had always been approved of in the Catholick Church spread all the earth over.*

CVIII. Our first Fathers therefore did not believe, in order to destroy human glory and attribute all to *Jesus Christ*, that it was necessary, either to take from Man that Justice which was in him, or to diminish the value, or deny the effect thereof; but believed, they ought to acknowledge it as proceeding from God only by a gratuitous bounty, and this also was what the *Trent* Fathers acknowledged after them, as above-seen in many places of this work.

'Tis in this sense that the Catholick Church had always contend'd after St. *Paul*, that *Jesus Christ is made unto us wisdom*, not by simply imputing to us that wisdom which is in him, but by infusing into our souls that wisdom which flows

flows from his; that he is *unto us Justice and Sanctity* in the same sense, that he is *Redemption*, not by covering our crimes only, but by defacing them intirely by his holy Spirit pour'd into our hearts; moreover, that we are *made the Justice of God in Jesus Christ*, in a manner more intimate than *Jesus Christ had been made to be sin for us, since God had made him sin*, to wit, the victim for sin, by treating him as a sinner tho' he were just; whereas, he *had made us the Justice of God in him*, not by leaving us our sins, and merely treating us as just men, but by taking from us our sins and by rendering us just. 2 *Cor.* v. 21.

CXLV. Touching the preparations to Grace, that they all proceed from Grace. *Sess.* VI. *c.* V. VI.

In order to make this Grace, inherent in us, absolutely gratuitous, our fore-fathers did not believe that it was necessary to say, one cannot dispose himself for them by good desires, nor obtain them by prayers, but they believed, these good desires and prayers were themselves inspired of God; and 'tis what the Council of *Trent* has done after their example, when it said, that all our good *Dispositions* came *from a preventing Grace*; that we could not *dispose and prepare ourselves* for Grace, but as we are *excited and assisted by Grace itself*; that God is the source of all justice, and in this quality ought to be beloved; and that there was *no believing, hoping, loving, nor repenting as we ought, so that the Grace of Justification might be conferr'd upon us, without a preventing inspiration of the Holy Ghost.* Wherein this Holy Council hath done no more than repeat what we read in the Council of *Orange*, viz. *that we can neither will, nor believe, nor think, nor love as we ought to do, and advantagiously, but by the inspiration of preventing Grace*; that is to say, they would not dispute either against Hereticks, or against Infidels, or even against Heathens, or in a word, against any others *Can.* I. *Conc. Arau.* II. *c.* 6. 7. 25.

others who imagine they love God, and who feel in effect inclinations so like to those of the faithful: but without entering with them into an impossible discussion of the precise differences of their sentiments from those of the just, they were satisfied with defining, that what is perform'd without Grace, is not *as it ought to be*, nor agreeable to God, since *without Faith it is impossible to please him.*

Heb. xi. 6.

CXLVI. Touching the necessity of preserving Free will together with Grace.

It the Council of *Trent* in defending the Grace of God, hath at the same time maintain'd Free-will, this also was a faithful repetition of our fore-fathers sentiments, when they defined, against the *Pelagians*, that Grace *destroy'd not Free-will, but set it at liberty, to the end that, of darken'd, it might become full of light; of sick, healthy; of depraved, upright; of imprudent, prudent and wise:* for which reason the Grace of God was call'd *an aid and a succour of the Free-will*; by consequence, something which, far from destroying, conserved and perfected it.

Aust. sed. Apost. de grat. inter dec. Carth. PP.

CXLVII. Touching the merit of good works.

According to so pure a notion, far from fearing the word *merit*, which indeed naturally express'd the dignity of good-works, our Fathers maintain'd it against the remnant of *Pelagians* in the same Council of *Orange*, by these words repeated in that of *Trent: the goodness of God is so great to all mankind, that what he gives us, he would even have to be our merit*; from whence it follows, as likewise the same Fathers of the Council of *Orange* have decided; *that all the works and virtues of the Saints ought to be rep[illegible] to God's glory, [illegible] none can please him except by the things which he hath given.*

Conc. Arau. Can. [illegible]

Conc. Arau. 5.

Lastly, if at *Trent* they did not fear to acknowledge, with a holy confidence, that eternal recompence is due to good-works, 'tis still in conformity with, and on the same principles that

that our Fathers had said in the same Council of *Orange*, *that merits do not prevent Grace, and that recompence is only due to good-works on account that Grace, which was not due, did precede them.* *Ibid. c. 18.*

By this means we find in the Christian a true Justice, but which is given him by God together with his love, and which accordingly makes him accomplish his commandments, wherein the Council of *Trent* likewise does but follow that rule of the Fathers of *Orange*: viz. *after having received Grace by Baptism, all the baptized, with the Grace and co-operation of Jesus Christ, can and ought to fulfil what appertains to Salvation, if they will labour faithfully*; where these Fathers have united *Jesus Christ*'s co-operating Grace with man's labour and faithful correspondence, agreeably to that saying of St. *Paul*, *Yet not I, but the Grace of God with me.* CXLVIII Touching the fulfilling of God's commandments. *Conc. Trid. Sess.* vi. *can.* 11. *can.* 18. *cap.* 25. 1 *Cor.* xv. 10.

Notwithstanding this opinion which we have of Christian Justice, yet we do not believe that it is perfect and wholly irreprehensible, since we place the principle part thereof in continually demanding the forgiveness of sins: and if we believe these sins, whereof the most just are obliged daily to implore forgiveness, do not hinder them from being truly just, the Council of *Trent* hath moreover taken this so necessary a Decision from the Council of *Carthage*, which declares, *that the Saints are they who say humbly and truly at the same time*, forgive us our trespasses; *that the Apostle St.* James, *altho' holy and just, said nevertheless*, we all offend in many things: *that* Daniel *also, tho' holy and just, yet did say*, we have sinned. Whence it follows that such sins hinder not holiness and justice, because they hinder not the love of God from reigning in our hearts. CXLIX. Touching the truth, and withal the imperfection of our Justice. *Cap.* 7. 8.

Now

CL. God accepts our good-works for the love of Jesus Christ. *Ibid.*

Now if the Council of *Carthage*, on account of these sins, will have us continually say to God, *enter not into judgment with thy servant, for that no man living shall be justified in thy sight*; we understand this, as doth that Council, of perfect Justice, without excluding from the just man a true Justice, acknowledging nevertheless, that it is also by an effect of a gratuitous bounty, and for the love of *Jesus Christ*, that God, who could have set at as high a price as he pleased, to condemn'd persons as we were, so great a good as life eternal, did not exact of us a righteousness without blemish, and on the contrary, has consented to judge us, not with extremity of rigour, but with a rigour temper'd and suited to our weakness, which obliged the Council of *Trent* to acknowledge, *that man hath not wherewith to glorify himself, but all his glory is in Christ Jesus, in whom we live, in whom we merit, in whom we satisfy, doing worthy fruits of Penance which derive from him their virtue; by him are offer'd to his Father, and for the love of him are accepted by his Father.*

Sess. xiv. c. 8.

CLI. That the holy Fathers have detested no less than we, as a blasphemy, the Doctrine which makes God equally predestinate to good and evil.

The rock to be fear'd in celebrating the mystery of Predestination, was the admitting it equally in respect of good and evil; and if the *Church* abhorr'd the crime of the pretended *Reformers* guilty of this excess, she did but walk in the steps of the Council of *Orange* which pronounces an eternal *Anathema*, *with other distinction*, *against those who would dare to say that man is predestinated to evil by the divine power*; and of the Council of *Valentia* deciding, in like manner, that [illegible] *impose on man the necessity of sinning, but confess only that man could be by his own [illegible] that [illegible] not predestinate some but that [illegible] had [illegible] to living well, and [illegible] they [illegible]*

would not become good, or because they would not remain in the Grace they had received.

Conc. Valent. III. *c.* 2. *Ibid.* 5.

Thus when a question has been once judged in the *Church*, as she never fails to decide it according to the tradition of all past ages, so should it happen to be moved again in succeeding times, you find the *Church*, after a thousand or twelve hundred years, always in the same situation, always ready to oppose against the enemies of truth, the same Decrees, which the Holy *Apostolick* See and *Catholick* Unanimity had pronounced, without ever adding any thing thereto, save what is necessary against new errors.

CLII. The Church always found in the same situation.

To conclude what remains on the subject of justifying Grace, I find no Decision touching the Certainty of Salvation, because as yet nothing had obliged the *Church* to pronounce on this point: yet none hath contradicted St. *Austin*, who teaches, that *this Certainty is not beneficial in this state of temptation, in which assurance might produce pride*; which also extends itself, as is plain, to the Certainty one might have of present righteousness, so that the *Catholick* Church, whilst she inspires into her children so great a confidence as to exclude perturbation and trouble, yet leaves in them, after the example of the Apostles, the counterpoise of fear, and no less teaches man to distrust himself, than to trust absolutely in God.

CLIII. Our Fathers have rejected as well as we, the Certainty of Salvation and righteousness. *De correct. & grat. c.* 13. *de Civ. Dei.* xi. 12.

Infine, if all that has been seen granted in this work by our adversaries, touching Justification and the merits of the Saints, be renew'd, 'twill intirely convince a man that there is not the least occasion to complain of the *Church's* Doctrine. *Melanchton*, so zealous for this article, owns nevertheless that *it is easy to come to an agreement on both sides*: what he seems most to insist upon, is the Certainty of Justice; but every humble Christian will easily rest contented with the same Certainty

CLIV. *Melanchton* agrees that the article of Justification is easy to be reconciled. *S. f.* III. *n.* 25. *& seq.* VIII. 22. *& seq.*

Sent. Pl. Mel. de pace Ec. p. 19. Bern. Serm. 1. de Sept.

Certainty with respect to Justice, as to eternal Salvation: all the comfort man ought to have in this life, is that of excluding by hope, not despair only, but also trouble and anguish; nor is there any thing to reproach a Christian with, who, assured on God's side, hath no longer any thing to fear or could but from himself.

CLV. The clearness of the Church's Decision. She cuts away the root of abuse in regard of prayer to the Saints. *S. Ir. xxiii. xiv.*

The Decisions of the *Catholick* Church are not less clear and precise, than they are firm and lasting, always obviating whatever might give occasion to the mind of man of going astray.

Honouring the *Saints* in her assemblies, was honouring God the Author of their sanctity and bliss; and demanding of them the partnership of their prayers, was joining ourselves to the Choirs of Angels, to the spirits of the perfectly just, and to the Church of the *first-born* which are in heaven. So holy a practice may be discover'd ever since the antiquity, nor is the beginning of it to be discover'd there, since none can be then found who were noted for innovation in that regard. The thing most to be fear'd with respect to the ignorant was, lest they would make the *Intercession* of Saints too like to that of God, and then *Intercession* too like to that of *Jesus Christ*: but the Council of *Trent* instructs us fully as to these two points, by warning us, that *the Saints pray*; the worship paid them is at an infinite distance from that which is due, and that they pray, *through Jesus Christ*, which places them infinitely beneath him, who is head through himself.

Sess. xxv. de invoc. Sanct.

CLVI. The Worship of Images.

Saints [illegible] rendering sensible the invisible [illegible] worship [illegible] thing to [illegible] respect of the [illegible] but they should believe that the divine [illegible] [illegible] or rendered present in [illegible] however, lest they should [illegible] upon [illegible] with some [illegible] than they

are honour'd; these are the three characters of *Idolatry*. But the Council hath rejected them in plain terms; so that, it is not lawful to attribute to one Image more virtue than to another, nor by consequence, to frequent one more than another, unless in memory of some miracles, or some pious history which might excite devotion. The use of Images being thus purified, *Luther* himself and the *Lutherans* will demonstrate, that Images of this kind are not what the *Decalogue* speaks of, and the honour render'd to them will be manifestly nothing else than a sensible and exterior testimony of the pious remembrance they excite, and the simple and natural effect of that mute language, which accompanies these pious representations, and whose usefulness is so much the greater, as it is capable of being understood by all mankind.

Ibid.

S. Thom. 28.

CIVII. Touching [illegible]

In general, the whole Worship is referr'd to the interior and exterior exercise of faith, of hope, and of charity, and principally to that of this last virtue, whose property it is to unite us with God; so that, therein is found a worship in spirit and in truth, wherein soever is found the exercise of charity towards God or towards our neighbour, conformably to that saying of S[illegible], *Pure Religion, and [illegible]* [illegible] every act of piety not animated with [illegible] is impure, carnal, or superstitious.

CIII. [illegible]

Under pretext that the Council [illegible] clined entering into [illegible] fairies, after *Jean Pa[illegible]* [illegible] it as having explain'd the [illegible] obscure, and [illegible] of pleading in [illegible] but they would [illegible]

ments, did they but consider, that God, who knows how far his designs to grant our understandings, according to us some truth, or some mystery, does not always reveal to us either the way of explaining it, or the circumstances which [illegible] to us, [illegible] as to [illegible] to [illegible] expectations in order to [illegible] that [illegible] by St. *Paul*, [illegible] to [illegible] thinking as to [illegible] with that we ought to be.

[illegible] For example, in the controversy concerning *Purgatory*, the Council of *Trent* hath strictly believed [illegible] truth revealed of God, that [illegible] may depart this life without being wholly purified. [illegible] *Christ* proves evidently, that this [illegible] by *Protestants*, by *Moderns*, [illegible] in *Christ* himself, on this common ground work of the Reformation, viz. that in the whole [illegible] the soul is [illegible] [illegible] departure from the [illegible]

[illegible]

the Sect, the *Catholick* Church advances beyond this: for the tradition of all ages having taught her to pray in behalf of the dead, for the comfort of their souls, for the forgiveness of their sins, and their relief, she hath held for a certain truth, that the perfect purification of souls was perform'd after death, and this by secret pains not alike explain'd by the holy Doctors, but of which they said only, that they might be mitigated and wholly remitted by prayers and oblations, answerably to the *Liturgies* of all Churches.

CLXI. Moderation of the Church in not determining any thing but what is certain. *Sess.* xxv. *Decr. de Purg.*

Without examining in this place whether this sentiment be good or bad, 'twere no longer equitable, or candid, to refuse granting us, that in this presupposition at least the Council ought to have form'd its Decree in a general expression, and defin'd as it has done; first, that there is a *Purgatory* after this life; secondly, that the prayers of the living may afford relief to faithful souls departed, without descending to particulars, either of their pains, or the manner in which they are purified, because tradition did not explain it; but shewing only that they are purified by *Jesus Christ* alone, they being purified by none but prayers and oblations made in his name.

CLXII. The difference of [illegible] and ambiguous terms.

The same judgment ought to be pass'd on other Decisions, and care taken not to confound, as our *Reformers* here do, general with indefinite, intricate, or ambiguous terms. Indefinite terms signify [illegible] nothing; ambiguous terms signify equivocally, and leave in the mind no determinate [illegible]; intricate terms raise a mist of confused [illegible]; but altho' general terms carry not the evidence so far as the utmost precision, they are to a certain degree nevertheless [illegible].

CLXIII. Council [illegible] Scripture [illegible]

Our [illegible] will not deny, that the passages of Scripture which say, that the *Holy Ghost* proceeds from the *Father*, [illegible] to be truth, since they [illegible]

[illegible] beyond all doubt, that the third Perſon of the Trinity derives his origin from the Father [illegible] the ſecond, altho' they do not expreſsly [illegible] wherein his proceſſion conſiſts, nor wherein it is different from that of the Son. It is [illegible] plain, that general expreſſions cannot be [illegible], without blaming at the ſame time [illegible] Creed and the Goſpel.

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] diſturbance always flow [illegible] in the Church, from [illegible] determining too much to particular [illegible], requiring it ſhould have [illegible] of the Sy[illegible] and Th[illegible] under penalty of being convicted of affected obſcurity: as if they were ignorant, that in Differences of Faith, a free ſcope ought to be allow'd Divines in propoſing different modes of explaining the Catholic truths; and by conſequence, that a Council waving their ſeveral and particular opinions ought to keep them within the compaſs of ſuch eſſential points, as they all agreed in [illegible]. This method of defining the truths of our Faith is ſo far from ſpeaking equivocally, that on the contrary, [illegible] to [illegible] that which [illegible] not to [illegible] Opinion [illegible] the autho[illegible] and [illegible] of a Council [illegible] to [illegible] of thoſe, who would [illegible] the [illegible].

CCXV. [illegible]

C[illegible] ing the [illegible] in [illegible], as [illegible] the [illegible] Council [illegible] the [illegible] C[illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible]

ought to be defin'd but what all the Fathers shou'd unanimously agree to; an admirable rule in order to separate what is certain, from what is doubtful! whence it also came to pass that the Cardinal *du Perron*, altho' a zealous defender of the interests of the Court of *Rome*, declar'd to the King of *England*, *That the dispute concerning the Pope's authority, whether in its spiritual [illegible] to Oecumenical Councils, or in its temporal [illegible] to secular Jurisdictions, is not a dispute about things that are held for articles of Faith, or, [illegible] and required in the Confession of Faith, or, that could hinder his Majesty from entering into the Church, should he be satisfied in other points.* And even in our days, the renown'd [illegible] Doctor of *Sorbone*, to whom those on the other side of the *Alps* referr'd the defence of their cause, decided that the Doctrine denying the Pope's *Infallibility*, is not absolutely against Faith, and that which places the Council above the *Pope*, cannot be branded with any censure, either of heresy, or error, or even of temerity.

Thereby appears, that Doctrines not supported by a certain and perpetual tradition, cannot strike root in the *Church*, since they make not a part of her *Confession* of Faith, and that even those who teach them, teach them as their particular Doctrine, and not as the Doctrine of the *Catholick* Church. To reject the Supremacy and authority of the *Holy See*, with this [illegible] moderation, is to reject the band of Christians, is to be at enmity with order and [illegible] envy the *Church* that good which [illegible] himself wish'd it might enjoy.

After what hath been seen, [illegible] left at present that can hinder [illegible] submitting to the *Church* [illegible] *Infallible* is abandoned: no longer is it [illegible]

[illegible] to all [illegible] its [illegible] of the [illegible] Confession [illegible] us from [illegible] the [illegible] that [illegible] by [illegible] clearly, that the true worship was never [illegible] [illegible] even [illegible] Moravian [illegible] the Caribbean Society [illegible] the [illegible] according to the [illegible] Confession [illegible] flood [illegible] and the perpetual Visibility of the [illegible] Church [illegible] be no longer doubted of.

CLXVIII. Those of the Confession of *Ausburg* are not more obliged to acknowledge it than the [illegible] the *Lutheran* Church hath neither found place in their [illegible] of Faith, nor in their *Apology*, whereon on the contrary, we have been the Church spoken of as the [illegible] with a perpetual Visibility, and, according to the principles, they thought it fit to [illegible] [illegible] bly made up of Pastors and People, in which found Doctrine and the Sacraments have [illegible] flourished.

CLXIX. All the arguments, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] up. Yet [illegible] [illegible] of the Church, [illegible] [illegible] Reformed. They [illegible] [illegible]

could be ever doubted of, and which at present are impugn'd with such captious arguments, that numbers of weak minds are infnared thereby. They agree that the authority of the *universal* Church is an *Infallible* remedy against this disorder: so that, the authority of the *Church*, far from being what was said in the *Reformation*, a means of introducing all manner of new-fangled Doctrines amongst Christians; is, on the contrary, a certain means of putting a stop to the licentiousness of mens minds, of preventing the abuse they make of the Scripture's, sublimeness after a manner so dangerous to the Salvation of souls.

The *Reformation* hath discover'd these truths at last; and if the *Lutherans* will not receive them from the hands of a *Calvinian* Minister, they have but to explain to us how they can resist the authority of the *Church* after having own'd that the truth is always manifest in her.

None now of whatever separate Communions should any longer demur to come and seek eternal life in the bosom of the Church of *Rome*, since it is confess'd that God's true people and his true Elect are still in her, as it hath always been confess'd that they were, before the pretended *Reformation*. But it's perceived at length, that the difference trumpt up betwixt the ages that preceded, and those which follow'd it, was vain, and that the difficulty which was made of acknowledging this truth, proceeded from evil policy.

Should the *Lutherans* here start new difficulties, and not suffer themselves to be persuaded by the sentiments of *Calvinists*; let them show us, what the Church of *Rome* hath done since *Luther*'s time to forfeit her title of a true *Church*, and to so lose her fecundity that the *Saints* can be no longer born in her womb.

CLXXI. [illegible] believed [illegible] Church of *Rome*.

True it is, when the Ministers acknowledge you may be saved in the Church of *Rome*, they would make you believe, you may do it as in an infected air, and by a kind of miracle, by reason of her impieties and idolatry. But men should learn to distinguish in the Matches, what hatred has made them add, from what truth has forced them to confess. If the Church of *Rome* made profession of impiety and idolatry, possibly Salvation could have been had in her either before, or [illegible] the *Reformation*; and if both before and after, Salvation may be had in her Body, the accusation of impiety and idolatry is unworthy and calumnious.

And indeed, the hatred they shew to her is [illegible] they are to be suspected [illegible] a man may have his [illegible] in her Communion, but with great difference [illegible] *Rome*, worship the Deity of the Sect of God and of the [illegible] Christ; who by consequence, believe themselves [illegible] to [illegible] who, in the [illegible] who believe that, [illegible] God [illegible] them, [illegible] Redemption; [illegible] to whom [illegible] who [illegible] who [illegible] who [illegible] [illegible]

Lastly, there is no longer any possibility for our *Reform'd* to avoid being reckon'd an ongst the number of those *who separate themselves, and who make a Sect apart*, contrary to the precept of the Apostles particularly St. *Jude*, and contrary to the import of their own *Creed*. Here are its very words in the exposition of the Creed: *The article of Forgiveness of sins is placed after that of the Catholick Church, because no one obtains pardon for his sins except before hand he be incorporated with God's people, and persevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church: insomuch that, out of the Church there is nothing but Death and Damnation; for all those, who separate from the Society of the faithful,* TO MAKE A SECT APART, *ought not to hope for Salvation whilst they are in division.*

CLXXIII Lastly, there is no longer any possibility for our Reform'd to avoid being reckon'd an ongst the number of those who separate themselves, and who make a Sect apart, contrary to the precept of the Apostles particularly St. Jude, and contrary to the import of their own Creed. Here are its very words in the exposition of the Creed: The article of Forgiveness of sins is placed after that of the Catholick Church, because no one obtains pardon for his sins except before hand he be incorporated with God's people, and persevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church: insomuch that, out of the Church there is nothing but Death and Damnation; for all those, who separate from the Society of the faithful, TO MAKE A SECT APART, ought not to hope for Salvation whilst they are in division.

Jude 19.

Dor. xvi.

The article speaks clearly of the *universal* Church, *Visible* and always *Visible*, and in this we have seen that they are agreed: they are agreed likewise, as to a fact certain and notorious, that the Churches, which call themselves reform'd, at their renouncing the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, did not find on earth one Church which they united with: they therefore made a *Sect apart* from the whole Body of Christians and *universal* Church; and, according to their own Doctrine, renounce the Grace of forgiveness of sins, which is the fruit of the Blood of *Christ Jesus*: and *Death* and *Damnation* is their lot,

The absurdities, necessarily attending the answer to this argument, plainly discover how invincible it is; for after a thousand fruitless shifts, they were, in fine, driven into such straights as even to say, that you remain in the *Catholick* and *universal* Church, in renouncing the Communion of all Churches in the world, and in making a

CLXXIV Shewing the perfection of the Church, and the nature of the Schism, &c.

Church

Church apart; that you remain in the same *universal* Church altho' driven from it by a civil censure; that you cannot go forth from it by any other crime than that of Apostacy, by renouncing Christianity and your Baptism; that all the Christian Sects, how divided soever they be, are one and the same Body and one and the same Church in *Jesus Christ*; that Christian Churches, have no exterior band of union by the appointment of *Jesus Christ*; that their band is arbitrary; that the Confessions of Faith whereby they [illegible] themselves, are arbitrary likewise, and Contracts susceptible of what terms you please, which yet may not be broken without incurring the guilt of Schism; that the union of Churches depends on Empires and the Will of Princes; that all Christian Churches are naturally, and by their origin, independent one of another, whence it follows that the *Independents*, so grievously censured in *Germany*, do nothing else but stand up for the natural liberty of Churches; that, provided you find means of assembling together either with credit or by violence to act *universal* upon the *world*, you are a true member of the Body of the *Catholick* Church; that no Heresy ever hath, or can be, condemn'd by a judgment of the *universal* Church; nay, that there is not, nor can be, any Ecclesiastical judgment in matters of Faith; that men have no right to exact subscriptions to the Decrees of Synods relating to Faith; that [illegible] the Soul in the midst of every Sect, [illegible] of [illegible].

CHAP. [illegible] pro-

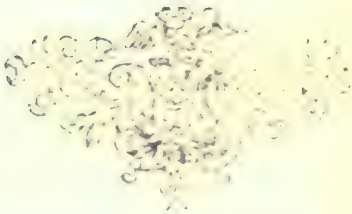
two more or less maintain'd in the *Reformation*, and wherein the whole defence of the cause is placed now more than ever; *viz. that the Catholick* Church, whereof the *Creed* speaks, is one heap of Sects divided amongst one another, and which anathematize one another; into which that, the character of *Jesus Christ*'s kingdom is the same with that given by *Jesus Christ* to the kingdom of *Satan*, as above-explain'd.

But nothing is more opposite to the Doctrine of *Christ* himself. According to his Doctrine the kingdom of *Satan* is divided against itself, and must fall house upon house to utter desolation. On the contrary, according to the promise of *Jesus Christ*, his *Church*, which is his kingdom, built on the rock, on the same Confession of Faith, and the same Ecclesiastical government, is perfectly united: whence it follows that she is unmoveable, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her: that is to say, division, the cause of weakness and the character of hell, shall not get the better of Unity, the cause of strength, and the character of the *Church*. But all this order is changed in the *Reformation*; and the kingdom of *Jesus Christ* being divided like to that of *Satan*, no wonder men have said, conformably to such a principle, that it was fallen to ruin and desolation. *Matth.* xii.

These maxims of division were the ground-work of the *Reformation*, inasmuch as it was established by an universal rapture, and a Christian Unity hath never been known therein: and therefore its Variations, whose history we have at length concluded, have shewed us what it was, to wit, a kingdom divided against itself, and which must fall sooner or later: which the *Catholick* Church, for ever unalterably attached to Decrees once pronounced, that not the least Variation

riation since the origin of Christianity can be discover'd in her, shews herself a *Church* built on the rock, always in full security from the promises she hath received, firm in her principles, and guided by a Spirit which never contradicts himself.

May he, who holds in his hand the hearts of men, and who alone knows the bounds he hath set to rebellious Sects, and to the all-wise of his *Church*, make all his stray'd children now return to her Unity; and may we have the joy to behold with our eyes *Israel*, so unfortunately divided, unite under one and the same Head with *Judah*.



A MATERIAL

APPENDIX

To the fourteenth Book.

AFTER this impression was finish'd, a *Latin* book fell into my hands which the indefatigable *Jurieu* has just brought to light, and whereof it is requisite I should give the publick some acount. The title is, *An amicable contract concerning Peace betwixt the Protestants.* Therein he treats of this subject with the Doctor *Daniel Severin Scultet*, who, on his side, proposes to himself to smooth the difficulties of this peace so frequently attempted and so unsuccessfully. The question chiefly in debate, is that of *Predestination* and *Grace*. The *Lutherans* cannot digest what was defin'd at the Synod of *Dort* touching *Absolute* decrees and Grace *irresistible*: he judges still more insupportable what the same Synod teaches of the *Inamissibility* of Justice, and the *Certainty* of Salvation, there being nothing, in his notion, more impious than to give to man once justified, a certain assurance in the midst of the most heinous crimes, that they shall neither make him forfeit his Salvation in eternity, nor in time even the *Holy Ghost* and the Grace of adoption. I repeat not the explanation of these questions, which the reader must have understood from the account given of them in this history; but shall only say, that this is what is call'd among the *Lutherans* [illegible] *calumny* of the *Calvinists*: so [illegible] a Heresy, that they charge it with nothing less than

I. A new book writ by the Minister *Jurieu* concerning the union of the *Calvinists* with the *Lutherans*.

[illegible] Author of sin, and of [illegible] all Christian morality by [illegible] apparent scarcity thereof, who are [illegible] to the most abominable enormities [illegible] *Dissenters* [illegible] only [illegible] consequences which are [illegible] so far the [illegible], the very *Dissenters* we have been [illegible] as to lay, that taking it from the [illegible] an unnecessary to [illegible]. He grants then, in the main, the [illegible] but in order to [illegible] about a peace, notwithstanding so great an opposition in such important articles. After proposing some reasonings confirming in words only, he concludes for a mutual toleration. His reasons he grounds upon are reduced to two, one whereof is recrimination, and the other, a compensation [illegible] *mutual*.

II. As for [illegible], Mr. *Lorrain*'s [illegible] is as follows. You accuse us, says he to *Dissenters*, of [illegible] the Author of [illegible] *Lutheran* you will [illegible] of this, [illegible] the opponents to him those [illegible] above related, where *Luther* [illegible] Predestination [illegible] impossible [illegible]

[illegible]

The *Calvinist* then shews, that *Luther* does not speak here in a doubting manner, but with that terrible Decision above specified, and which suffers no reply on this head: *You* says he, *that hear me, never forget that I am the man who thus teaches, and without any new inquiry submit to this word.* *Ibid. p. 11. n. 13.*

The *Lutheran* thought to escape by saying, that *Luther* had recanted: but the *Calvinist* nonplusses him when he demands, *where is this recantation of Luther? It is true*, proceeds he, *he has begg'd we would excuse, in his first books, some remnants of Popery in regard to Indulgences: but as to what regards Free-will, he never changed a tittle of his Doctrine.* And indeed, it is very certain that the above-said Monsters of impiety were far from being derived from *Popery*, which, as *Luther* acknowledges in all these places, held them in execration. *Jur. Ibid. p. 21. 22.*

Mr. *Jurieu*, in that respect, is of the same opinion with us, and declares, *he hath in abhorrence these* Dogmata *of* Luther, *as impious, horrible, frightful, deserving every anathema, introductive of* Manicheism, *and subversive of all Religion.* He is sorry to see himself obliged to speak thus of the head of the *Reformation*. *I speak it*, says he, *with grief, and horror, as much as I am able, the memory of this great man.* This is therefore one of those Confessions, which the evidence of truth extorts from men how much soever against their will; and in fine, the author of the *Reformation*, by the very Confession of the *Reformed*, is convicted of being an impious Blasphemer against God: after this, [illegible], as much as they please; for to have [illegible] alarm against *Rome*, is merit enough [illegible] *Reformation* for whatever titles. [illegible] of this wicked Doctrine, which destroys [illegible] *Ibid. p. 6. 24. 25.*

ligion. Mr. *Jurieu* has convicted him of uttering the same blasphemies as his Master; and, instead of detesting them as they deserved, of never having retracted them but too *faintly and with ambiguity*. You see on what corner stones the *Reformation* was built. Ibid. [illegible]

III. Whether *Calvin* has been [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] xxiii. [illegible] 7. [illegible]

But secondly Mr *Jurieu* here seems willing to excuse *Calvin*, he need but cast his eyes on the passages of this author already quoted by me in this history: there will he find that *Adam could not avoid his fall, and was nevertheless guilty of it, because he fell voluntarily; that it was ordained of God, and comprised in his secret decrees.* There will he find, *that a hidden counsel of God is the cause of hardness of heart; that we must not deny that God willed and decreed the defection of* Adam, *since he does all he wills; that* [illegible], *he could* [illegible] [illegible]; *yet, after all, it cannot be denied that God foresaw the fall of man,* [illegible] *he had ordained it by his own decree; that we ought not to use the word permission,* [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] *the will of God makes the* [illegible] *of things;* [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], Adam *fell by an impulse of God's providence, and* [illegible] *God had* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *his own fault;* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

What therefore does it avail Mr. *Jurieu* to have quoted us some passages of *Calvin*, where he seems to say that man was free in *Adam*, and fell in *Adam* by his own Will, since it is otherwise certain from *Calvin* himself, that this Will of *Adam* was the necessary effect of a special decree of God? And indeed the truth is, this Minister has not pretend[illegible] absolutely to excuse his *Calvin*, but contents himself with saying only, *he was fiercer in comparison to* Luther: but we have just heard him speak not less extravagantly and impiously than *Luther*.

I have also produced *Beza*'s words, which manifestly refer all sins to the Will of God as their first cause. Thus beyond all dispute, the *Heads* of both parties of the *Reformation*, *Luther* and *Melancthon* on one side, *Calvin* and *Beza* on the other, the Masters and Disciples, equally are convicted of *Manicheism* and impiety; and Mr. *Jurieu* hath had reason to confess candidly of the *Reformers* in general, that they taught that *God drove on wicked men to commit crimes*.

IV. The *Calvinist* returns to the charge, and here is another recrimination not less remarkable. You upbraid us, says he to the *Lutherans*, with our *irresistible* Grace: but in order to make it *[illegible]ble* you run to the opposite extreme; and, unlike to your master *Luther*, whereas in matter of Grace he so far out went all bounds *as to make himself [illegible]* of Manicheism, you do the like in *Free-will*, so as to turn *P[illegible]*, since you attribute to it the beginning of salvation. Which he makes evident by the [illegible] we have made use of in this History, by showing the *Lutherans*, that, according to them, the Grace of conversion depends on the care they themselves take to hear the word preach'd. I have clearly demonstrated this *Disjunction* of the *Lu[illegible]*

[illegible] from the book of *Concord*, and from other [illegible] the Minister strengthens my [illegible] with the testimony of his adversary *Stuber*, who [illegible] in [illegible] words, *that God converts man, [illegible] the word preached [illegible] attention.* Accordingly, 'tis in this [illegible] the *Lutherans* explain the universal will of [illegible] all mankind, and say with *Stuber*, that *God [illegible] and [illegible] hard [illegible] the heart, [illegible] they [illegible] HAND the necessary [illegible] man's conversion.* Thus what they attribute to the divine power, is that Grace which goes hand in hand with preaching; and what they attribute to *Free-will*, is rendering itself *before-hand*, by its own strength, attentive to the word announced: which is saying as clearly as ever the *Pelagians* have done, that the *Beginning* of Salvation comes purely from the *Free-will*; and that there may be no doubt that this is the error of the *Lutherans*, Mr *Jurieu* produces moreover a passage from *Calvin*, where he transcribes [illegible] the propositions condemn'd in the *Pelagians*; or he says in express terms, *that [illegible] from the [illegible] Nature, and [illegible] natural Knowledge [illegible] Revelation, God [illegible] to arrive at the [illegible] which once [illegible] depend on what man precedently [illegible]*

I [illegible] that the *Lutherans* [illegible] namely, *Pelagius* [illegible] part of this [illegible] by which [illegible] is [illegible] God's salvation totally in his

his own hands independently of Grace. Now this it is they do, who, like the *Lutherans*, make the Conversion and Justification of a sinner dependent on a beginning introductive of all the rest, and which, nevertheless, the sinner gives to himself meerly by his *Free-will* without Grace, as I have proved evidently, and as Mr. *Jurieu* hath also but just made apparent from the Confession of the *Lutherans*.

They ought not therefore to flatter themselves as if they had escap'd the *Anathema* merited by the *Pelagians*, under pretext that they are only such by halves; since we see that this part swallowed by them of so mortal a poison, as that of *Pelagianism*, contains its whole malignity: from whence one may perceive the deplorable condition of the whole *Protestant* Party; since, on one side, the *Calvinists* know no way of maintaining Christian Grace against the *Pelagians*, but by making it *Inamissible* with all the other aforesaid inconveniencies; and on the other, the *Lutherans* believe, there's no avoiding this detestable *Particularism* of *Dort* and of the *Calvinists*, but by turning *Pelagians*, and abandoning man's Salvation to his own *Free-will*.

V. Sequel of recriminations. The *Lutherans* convicted of disguising the necessity of [illegible]

The *Calvinist* pursues his point; and, says he to the *Lutherans*, *'tis impossible to dissemble* your Doctrine against the necessity of good-works. *I will not*, proceeds he, *go in quest of the harsh propositions of your Doctors ancient and modern on this subject*. As I take it, he glances at the Decree of *Wormes*, where we have observed 'twas decided that good-works are not necessary to Salvation. But without insisting on this assembly and other the like Decrees of the *Lutherans*, I shall observe only, says he to *Scultet*, what you yourself have taught: that *it is not lawful for us to give any alms to the poor, no, not a farthing with the [illegible]*

design of obtaining forgiveness of our sins: and again; *that the habit and exercise of virtue is not absolutely necessary for the justified in order to be saved: that the merits of the Son of God, received in the room of any good work at the hour of death, is enough [illegible] without which the soul can be saved*: lastly, *that [illegible] the least [illegible] exercise of virtue is not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be, a man may [illegible], as the Minister [illegible], without having done the least good work either in his life or at his death.*

These are just and terrible recriminations, of which Dr. S[illegible] will never clear himself. But again, here is another no less remarkable. You object to us as a crime, says to them Mr. *Jurieu*, the *Covenant* of Salvation defined in the Synod of *Dort*: but you, who object it to us, hold the same yourselves. Thereupon he produces the *Book* wherein Doctor *John* [illegible] the great [illegible] *Lewis* and [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] prove [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] *H*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and other [illegible] [illegible] by Mr. [illegible] [illegible] But [illegible] [illegible] to me, that [illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] committed [illegible] what I have [illegible] [illegible] gotten [illegible] propositions [illegible] and even [illegible] Dr. [illegible] the [illegible]

the contradictions the Minister *Jurieu* upbraids them with in these words: "*'tis a thing incredible, that wise men, having eyes in their heads, should have fallen into so stupendous a blindness, as to believe one is assured of his Salvation with a Certainty of Faith, and at the same time, that the true Believer may lose the Faith and eternal Salvation.* From thence he takes occasion to reproach them, that their Doctrine is self-contradictory, that their *Universalism*, introduced contrary to *Luther*'s principles, has brought such a confusion into their Theology, *that there is none but is visible that it has no longer any manner of Coherence; that it cannot be self-consistent; that they have no excuse left them.* Thus you see how these men treat one another, when in peace: what don't they do, when at mortal war?

Besides what regards Grace, the Minister also charges the *Lutherans* very home with their monstrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, *worthy*, says he, *of all the elogiums you bestow on the decisions of* Dort, *a frightful, huge, and horrid monster, of a prodigious deformity in itself, and still more prodigious in its consequences; since it brings back the confusion of natures in Jesus Christ, and not only that of the Soul with the Body, but also that of the Divinity with the Humanity, and in a word,* Eutychianism *so unanimously decided by the whole Church.*

He shews them, they have added to the *Confession* of *Augsburg* this monster of *Ubiquity*, and to *Luther*'s Doctrine, their excessive *Universalism*, which has made them fall back into the error of the *Pelagians*. All these reproaches are very true, as we have made appear; and here you behold the *Lutherans*, the first of those that took up the title of *Reformers*, convicted by the *Calvinists*, of being all at once *Pelagians*,

in formal terms, and *Eutychians* by consequences indeed, but *such as the whole world is sensible of*, and which are as clear as the noon-day.

Sir Rad.

VIII. After all these vigorous recriminations, one would think that the Minister *Jurieu* must conclude to detest, in the *Lutherans*, so many abominable excesses, so many visible contradictions, so manifest a blindness: no such thing. He accuses the *Lutherans* of so many enormous errors, only to conclude a peace by a mutual toleration on both sides, notwithstanding the great errors both stand convicted of by the testimonies of each other.

Lutherans to the Minister Jurieu.

Jur. 2. part. c. 111. & seq. p. 11. & 24.

Here then he proposes that marvellous compensation, that bartering of Doctrine, where all terminates in concluding, *If you Particularism has an error, we offer you a toleration for much more strange errors.* Let us strike up peace on this foundation, and mutually declare one another God's faithful servants, without any obligation on either side, of correcting any thing in our tenets. We allow you all the prodigies of your Doctrine: we allow you that monstrous *Iniquity*: we allow you your *Dum-pelagianism*, which places the beginning of man's Salvation purely in his own hands: we allow you that horrid *Dogma* which denies that good-works and the habit of charity, any more than the exercise thereof, are necessary to Salvation either in life, or at death: we tolerate you, we receive you to the holy *Table*, we own you for God's children, notwithstanding all these errors: overlook then, in our behalf, and in behalf of the Synod of *Dort*, these errors of *Dordrecht* with Grace and the Decrees of Salvation with the *Decrees* of Justice, [illegible] all the rest of our [illegible] at *Dordrecht*, [illegible] you [illegible] than.

1. Part. c. 11. p. 12.

Ibid. p. 13.

This

This is the bargain he propoſes; this, what he negotiates in the face of the whole Chriſtian world; a peace betwixt Churches calling themſelves not only *Chriſtian*, but alſo *Reformed*; not by agreeing in the Doctrine which they believe expreſly reveal'd by God, but by forgiving mutually each other the moſt unpardonable errors.

What ſhall be the iſſue of this treaty? I am loath to foreſee it: but will be bold to ſay, the *Calviniſts* ſhall gain nothing elſe by it, but an addition to their own errors of thoſe of the *Lutherans*, which they make themſelves accomplices in by admitting to the holy *Table* thoſe as the true children of God, who profeſſedly maintain them. As for the *Lutherans*, if it be true, as it's inſinuated by Mr. *Jurieu*, that they begin for the moſt part to become more tractable in regard to the *Real* Preſence, and offer peace to the *Calviniſts*, provided only they receive their *Demi-pelagian Univerſaliſm*; the whole univerſe will be witneſs that they have made a peace by ſacrificing to the *Sacramentarians* what *Luther* did moſt defend againſt them even to his death, to wit, the *Reality*; and by making them profeſs what the ſame *Luther* moſt deteſted, namely, *Pelagianiſm*, to which he preferr'd the oppoſite extreme, even the horror of making God the author of ſin.

But let us alſo ſee the means which Mr. *Jurieu* propoſes for attaining this wonderful agreement. *In the firſt place*, ſays he, *this peace could not be brought about without the concurrence of the Princes of both parties, by reaſon that*, proceeds he, *the whole Reformation was [illegible] by their authority*. Wherefore in order to promote it, we muſt aſſemble, *not Biſhops, who are too much addicted to their own intereſts: but [illegible] Laymen*, who, in all appearance, will part with their

Religion at an easier rate. These therefore shall [illegible] examine *the Reasons of such a Step*, and weigh [illegible] *and such a Supposition*, [illegible] that is to say, [illegible] must be de[illegible] what is *fond mental*, and what not; what may be, and [illegible] to be tolerated. Here [illegible] and difficulty; for in this difficulty to essential to [illegible] Religion, *the Doctors are to [illegible] as Lawyers*, *the Politicians are to [illegible] and [illegible] of their Principles*. Here then manifestly are Princes become supreme arbiters of Religion, and the Substance of Faith trusted absolutely in their hands. Whether this be *Religion*, or a meer *Political* agreement, I refer to the Reader.

Nevertheless it must be owned, the reason alledged by Mr. *Jurieu*, for submitting the whole to Princes, is convincing, since in reality, as he has full told us, *the [illegible] Reformation was made by their authority*. 'Tis what we have shewn thro' the whole series of this History: but now at last this fact, so ignominious to *Presbyters*, can no longer be disputed. Mr. *Jurieu* confesses it in plain terms, nor must we wonder that Princes have vested in themselves the supreme [illegible] in regard to a *Reformation* [illegible] have made.

[illegible] the Minister [illegible] a down[illegible] of the [illegible]

rent, tolerable or intolerable in Religion, which shall please them, and must the fundamental points of Christianity be decided by policy.

One no longer knows what country he is in, nor whether they are Christians he hears speak, when he sees the main of Religion given up to temporal authority, and the sovereign disposal of it resign'd to Princes. But this is not all; after this, a *Confession* of Faith must be agreed to, and hence should arise their main perplexity: but the expedient is easy. They are to make one in indefinite and general terms, which the whole world shall be satisfied with: each must dissemble what may be displeasing to his Companion: silence is a remedy for all evils: every man shall believe in his heart just what he lists, *Pelagian*, *Eutychian*, or *Manichean*; provided he hold his tongue, all will go well, and *Jesus Christ* will not fail to look on both one and the other for *Christians* well united. What shall we say? Let us deplore the blindness of our Brethren, and beseech God that the enormity of their error may at length open their eyes so, as to become sensible thereof.

But here is the finishing stroke. We have seen what *Zuinglius* and the *Zuinglians*, *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* judged of the *Confession* of *Ausburg*: how from its first beginning, they refused to subscribe it, and separated themselves from its defenders; how those of *France* in all succeeding times, in receiving all the rest, have ever excepted the tenth article relating to the *Supper*. We have seen amongst other things, what was said at the Conference of *Poissy*; nor forgotten what *Calvin* then wrote [illegible] *supposing that* [illegible] of this Confession: which was the cause, said he, *that it* [illegible]

even that Melanchton, *its author, repented he ever made it*: but at present, great prevalency of that fond desire of uniting with the *Lutherans!* They are ready to subscribe this *Confession*; for they are very sensible the *Lutherans* will never depart from it. Well then, says our Minister, *is no more required of us than to subscribe it? The business is done: we are ready for this subscription, provided you will receive us.* That you see this *Confession*, which had been so strictly rejected these hundred and fifty years, all on a sudden, without any alteration in it, will become the common rule of *Calvinists* as it is of *Lutherans*, upon condition each one shall have the liberty of interpreting and adapting it to his own notions. I have the reader to decide, which of the two ought most to be lamented, the *Calvinists* who turn with every wind, or the *Lutherans* whose *Confession* is subscribed only with a view of discovering in it a Doctrine suitable to their notions, by the means of those equivocal expressions, of which it is compiled. No matter, however, to say no worse, would be this pretended union; what would enrue from it of some real consequence is, however, as says Mr. *Jurieu*, *that our enemies make thereof a great consideration, and that the Prevailing Party would make the Papists tremble.* These were the hopes of Mr. *Jurieu*, who would be well enough satisfied with the success of his negotiation, if, failing as to a sincere agreement of minds, it could at least [illegible] them to, as to set all *Europe* [illegible] but [illegible] *Calvinists*, [illegible] not made a Doctrine of it.

Ibid. cap. XIII. p. 171.

Ibid. p. 56.

[illegible]

[illegible]

plaisance we have shewn, in allowing you your *Corporal* Presence? *Besides all these Philosophical absurdities which we were forced to digest, how perilous are the consequences of this Dogma?* Those do experience it, proceeds he, who are obliged to endure, in *France*, this continual reproach: *Why do you reject the Catholicks after having received the* Lutherans? *Our people make answer: The* Lutherans *take not away the Substance of the Bread: they do not adore the Eucharist: they offer it not in Sacrifice: they deprive not the people of one Kind: so much the worse for them, we are told, 'tis in this they argue ill, nor follow their own principles. For if the Body of Jesus Christ be really and carnally present, we ought to adore him: if he be present, we ought to offer him up to his Father: if he be present, Jesus Christ is whole and entire under each species. Do not say, you deny these consequences: for when all is said, they flow better and more naturally from your* Dogma *than those you impute to us. It is certain your Doctrine touching the Supper, was the beginning of error: the change of Substance was grounded thereupon: thereupon was adoration commanded; nor is it easy to withstand it: human reason directs us to adore Jesus Christ wherefoever he is. Not that this reason is always good, for God is in a piece of wood and in a stone, yet we may not adore a stone or wood; but after all, the mind is carried to it by its own propensity*, and as naturally as the elements tend to their centre: a great struggle is required *to hinder our falling into this precipice:* (this precipice is worshipping *Jesus Christ* where he is present) *and I nowise doubt*, proceeds our Author, but *that the simple amongst you would fall into it, were they not prevented by the continual conflicts with the Papists.* Open your eyes, ye *Lutherans*, and suffer the *Catholicks* to

Ibid. 240.

to speak thus, to you in their turn. We do not propose that you should worship *wood* or *stone* because God is in them: we propose to you to worship *Jesus Christ* where you acknowledge he is, by so special a Presence, attested by so particular and divine a testimony: *[illegible]* *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*. Simple minds, void of contention, would follow so natural a hint, if continual disputes did not restrain them; nor is it any thing but the spirit of contention that can hinder the adoration of *Jesus Christ* where he is believed so present.

Mr. [illegible] according to the Minister [illegible]

Such are the conditions of the agreement, at this day in treaty, betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*; such are the means they are to use for attaining it; and such the reasons employ'd to persuade and move the *Lutherans*. And let not these people go away with the notion, that our speaking of it in this manner, proceeds from some fear we may have of their humours, which, when all [illegible], will never be any thing better than [illegible] impolitic even by Mr. [illegible] says he, [illegible] *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, [illegible] *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. [illegible] Why [illegible] that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* [illegible] these two nations as [illegible] as any? They may [illegible]

conformity of ſentiments, were manifeſt folly to believe. Nevertheleſs, they'll ſtill continue to ſay, and one as much as the other, that the *Scripture* is clear, altho' conſcious in their hearts that this alone can never terminate the leaſt diſpute; and all they can do, is to patch up agreements, and diſſemble what they believe to be the truth clearly reveal'd by God, or however, to diſguiſe it, as they have ſtrove a thouſand times to do, under equivocal expreſſions.

Let them therefore do what they think fit, and whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do in reſpect to theſe vain projects of agreements; they will be eternally the mutual puniſhment and grievance of each other: they will bear eternal teſtimony one againſt another, how unhappily they uſurpt the title of *Reformers*, and that the method they took for the correction of abuſes, could tend to nothing but the ſubverſion of *Chriſtianity*.

But here is ſomething ſtill worſe for them. Suppoſing they were arrived to this mutual toleration, we ſhould then ask them, in what rank they would place *Luther* and *Calvin*, who make God in expreſs terms, the Author of ſin, and thereby ſtand convicted of a *Dogma* which their diſciples now abhor? Who does not ſee that of two things one will happen, either that they muſt place this blaſphemy, this *Manichæism*, this *impiety which diſavows all Religion*, amongſt the tenets that may be tolerated; or in fine, to the eternal ignominy of the *Reformation*, *Luther* muſt become the horror of the *Lutherans*, and *Calvin* of the *Calvaniſts*?

XIII. Objection against the Reformers of Luther and Calvin.

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Book XV. Page 363. Line 20. *couched*, read *be couched*. p. 422. l. 23. yet it is, *r.* that it is. p. 427. l. 34. his book, *r.* the book. p. 463. l. 31. renew'd, *r.* review'd.